

# Michigan History



MICHIGAN HISTORICAL COMMISSION

# MICHIGAN HISTORY

Lewis Beeson, *Editor*

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# MICHIGAN HISTORY

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## Founding of the Michigan Public School System

*Harold C. Brooks*

WHEN TWO FINE MINDS MEET AND FIND THEMSELVES MATCHED, it is like the coming together of flint and steel.<sup>1</sup> The spark is struck, and if tinder is near, a flame may kindle which will spread its light afar, with an afterglow never entirely dimmed. A graceful old oak, which still stands on a hillside of north Marshall, on summer afternoons in the year 1834 sheltered two of Marshall's greatest citizens while they planned the Michigan public school system, an educational project adopted not only by Michigan but also by most other states entering the Union after 1836. The practical ideals of John Davis Pierce and Isaac Edwin Crary created a state school fund, a state controlled educational system, and insured the growth of a great state university—two men, on summer afternoons, exchanging ideas in the shade of a tree!

When Isaac Crary rode into Marshall in the early spring of 1832 he found a warm welcome awaiting him, for he was the type of pioneer the small group of settlers most desired. Although only twenty-eight years of age he had already made a fine record in the practice of law in Hartford, Connecticut. In the "House of Hospitality," the double log cabin of the Rev. John D. Pierce, Crary was extended those courtesies which gave the Pierce home its name. It would have been a rich legacy for posterity had one or the other of these men kept a journal of those days and recorded their impressions of that first meeting. It may have been similar to the many receptions of guests

<sup>1</sup>This essay was presented at the luncheon meeting of the second annual history conference of the Historical Society of Michigan at Marshall, January 22, 1949. This article forms Chapter 12 of a projected history of Marshall on which Mr. Brooks has been working since 1931. Ed.

that were a part of the day's work with the village preacher and his wife, yet we like to think that, even as these clear-eyed men first clasped hands in greeting, a chord of something more than hospitality was set vibrating.

Mary Ann Pierce died in July, not long after Crary's arrival, and Pierce was away from the village for nearly a year. On his return the friendship with Crary that was to continue through their lives ripened as they exchanged ideas and found they had much in common. This was not strange, for the backgrounds of these men were quite similar. Both were of sturdy and intellectual New England stock. Crary was a native of Preston, New London County, Connecticut, Puritan-Scotch, and a great-great-grandson of Elder William Brewster of the Mayflower Company. Pierce was of a good family in Chesterfield, New Hampshire. Both spent their youth on farms, performing manual labor while planning careers. Crary graduated from Washington (Trinity) College, read law, practiced for two years in Hartford, and at the same time assisted in writing editorials for the *New England Weekly Review*. Pierce inherited \$100 from his grandfather's estate and saved another \$100 from wages earned on a neighbor's farm, put himself through Brown University by teaching three months in every year, graduated with honors, taught a full session, spent a year in Princeton Theological Seminary, and was licensed to preach by the Congregational Association. As a traveling missionary of the Home Mission Society, journeying through the wilds of Michigan, he arrived by chance in the tiny Marshall settlement in the summer of 1831 and decided to make it his future home. Crary, however, came deliberately to set up the practice of law and embark on a career in this new West. The two men seemed to understand each other thoroughly. Although Pierce was thirty-seven and Crary only thirty at the time they evolved the public school system, the serious character of the younger man bridged the difference in years. Temperamentally they were in harmony.

Crary was "a well read lawyer, safe counselor, clear, logical reasoner . . . [of] unblemished character," wrote Anson De Puy Van Buren in a biographical sketch.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Horace Bushnell, an eminent Eastern

<sup>2</sup>Anson De Puy Van Buren, "Sketches, Reminiscences, and Anecdotes of the Old Members of the Calhoun and Kalamazoo County Bars," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 11:271-318 (Lansing, 1888).

divine, alluding to Crary in a lecture on historical personages of Connecticut, said: "He was a sound thinker, a close observer, and a close student of sociological and government affairs." Crary's kindness to the junior members of the bar in later years is a matter of record, and he became known as the "Father of the Calhoun County Bar."<sup>3</sup> We picture him as a man of dignity, too little inclined, perhaps, to the lighter things in life, and yet his second wife, Bellona Pratt, daughter of his onetime law partner, relates a pleasing story of his assistance to the women in their domestic labors connected with a Fourth of July celebration.<sup>4</sup>

Dr. Oliver C. Comstock of Marshall points out that in ministerial work Pierce's characteristics were similar to Crary's:

... he was earnest and profound, never attempting a cheap oratory, but drawing from his sympathetic and well-stored mind, arguments solid, clear, and convincing. Imagination... had little to do with the preparation of his sermons.... Mr. Pierce was not a *belles lettres* man like Emerson and Longfellow, yet he belonged to the world of letters as did Morse, and Agassiz, and Darwin. He was a philosopher and a statesman. Every instinct of his benevolent nature led him to devise wise and charitable plans for the enlightenment and salvation of his fellow man, and especially children.<sup>5</sup>

While both made Marshall their home and loved it (Crary died there and Pierce, who died in Medford, Massachusetts, asked to be buried there) they did not confine themselves to the many offices held in the village and town. Their broad and practical minds reached out to cosmopolitan areas. In heart they belonged to Marshall. In deeds they were world citizens.

Early, beside the log cabin hearth, these men found a common interest in the fields of government and education. Michigan was in the throes of becoming a state and much depended on her foundations. In a reminiscence read in 1875 before the Pioneer Society of the State of Michigan Mr. Pierce said:

The condition and prospects of our new State were often subjects of discussion, and especially schools of various grades, from the highest to

<sup>3</sup>From a conversation with the late William H. Porter, probate judge of Calhoun County. As a youth he remembered Crary, although he was not a lawyer at the time.

<sup>4</sup>Manuscript reminiscences of Bellona Pratt in the possession of the author.

<sup>5</sup>Oliver C. Comstock, "Rev. John D. Pierce," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 5:184-87 (Lansing, 1884).

the lowest. It was at this period in our history [the summer of 1834] that the Michigan school system had its inception and origin. Gen. Isaac E. Crary, a graduate of an eastern college and a warm friend of education, was, for a year or two, an inmate of my house.

About this time [Victor] Cousin's report of the Prussian system made to the French minister of public instruction, came into my hands.<sup>6</sup> It was read with much interest. Sitting one pleasant afternoon upon a log, on the hill north of where the court house at Marshall now stands, General Crary and myself discussed for a long time the fundamental principles which were deemed important for the convention to adopt in laying the foundations of our State. The subject of education was a theme of especial interest. It was agreed, if possible, that it should make a distinct branch of the government, and that the constitution ought to provide for an officer who should have this whole matter in charge and thus keep its importance perpetually before the public mind.<sup>7</sup>

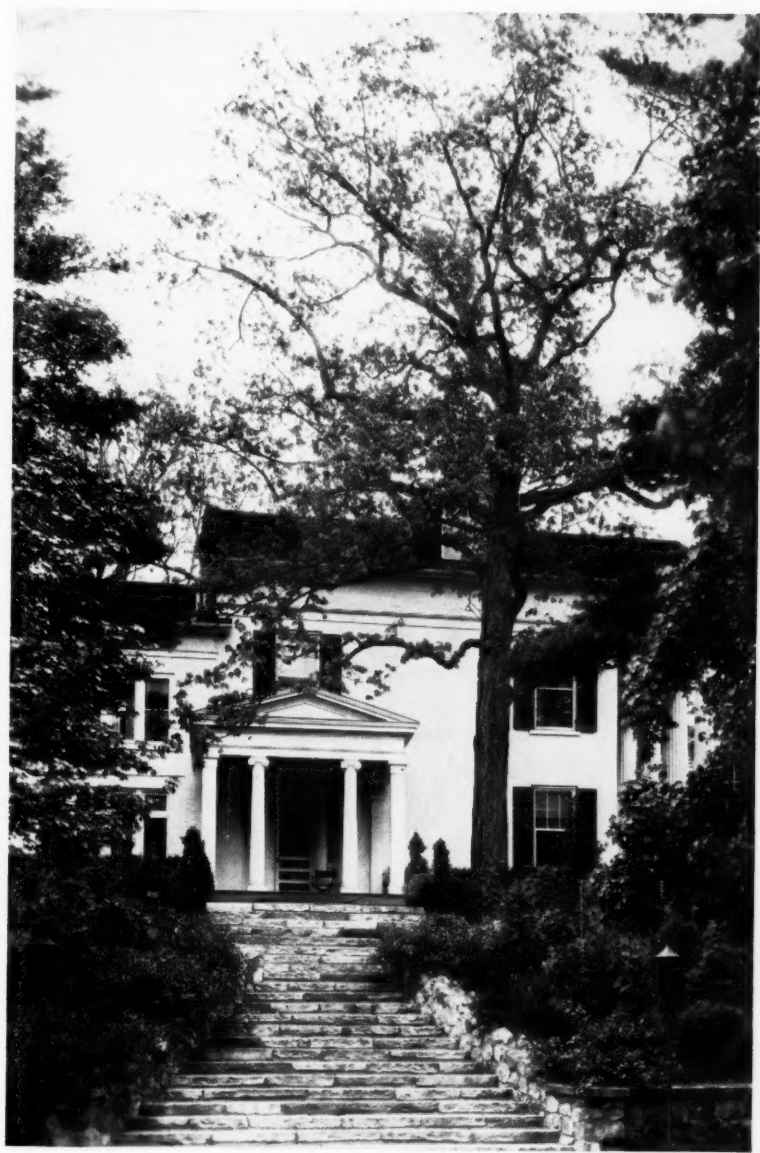
We can so easily picture these two men, seated close together on the log under the oak tree that sentinel the hilltop,<sup>8</sup> eagerly reading the pages that described an educational system far in advance of any other in their day, each paragraph awakening in their keen minds the application and adjustment of similar plans for their own dawning state. If the full enthusiasm of the following hours could have been recorded, what an inspiration for all time it would have been, in view of the brilliant success which followed.

The Prussian system of education, reported by Victor Cousin as the best of all the German educational plans, provided for a separate state department of education. It united the primary, secondary, and higher schools in a system at public expense and under state control. Its success was established. Crary and Pierce recognized that, with important modifications and improvements designed to meet American conditions, it could be adapted to American schools and to their own Michigan schools in particular. The Prussian code provided for Catholic and Lutheran instructors in catechism, with freedom of choice for the students. Crary and Pierce believed that public schools

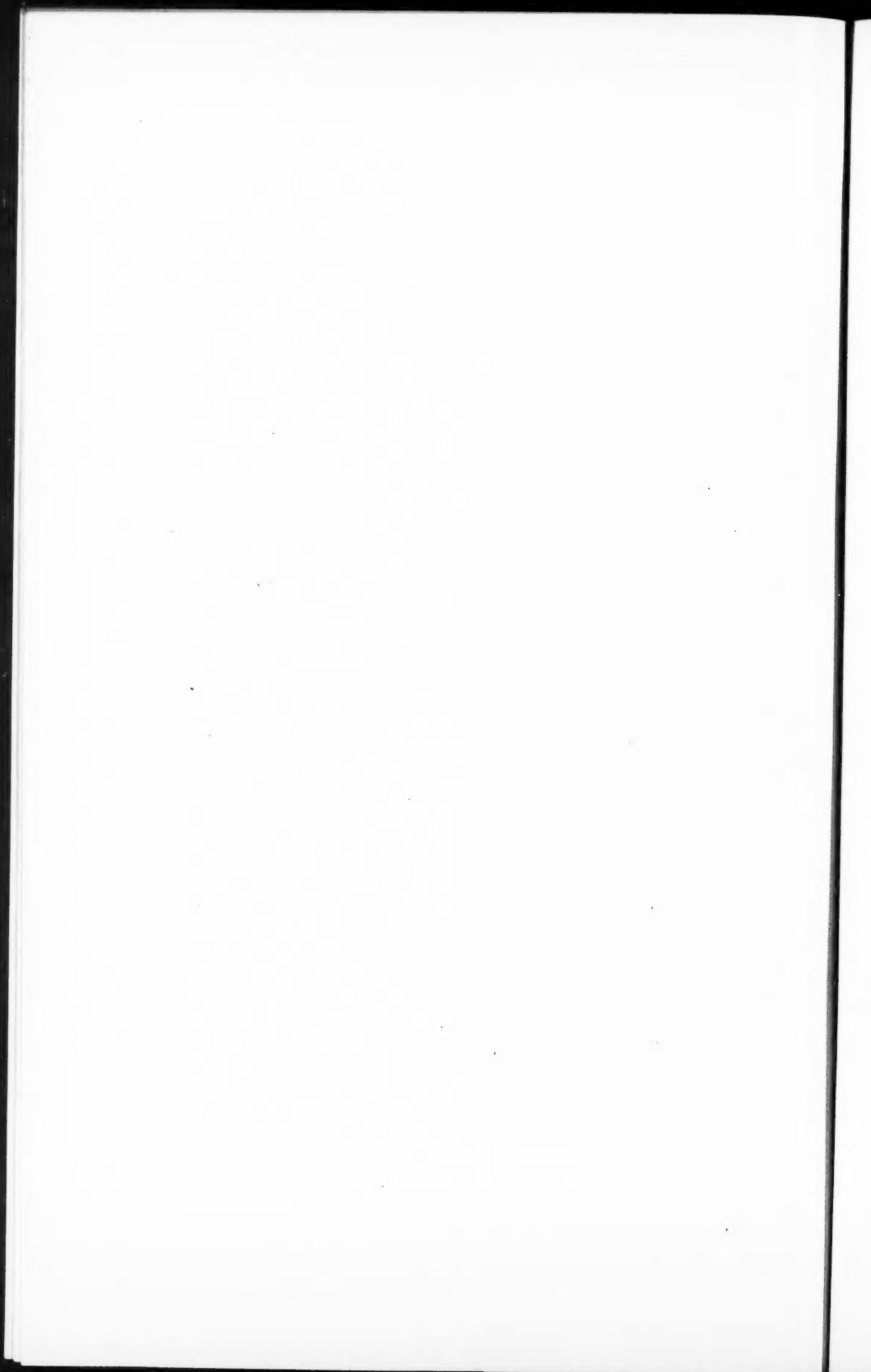
<sup>6</sup>Victor Cousin, a lecturer in the Sorbonne, Paris, in 1831 was commissioned by the French government to visit German cities and study their educational systems. His report, translated into English by Mrs. Sarah Austin in 1834, was widely circulated in America, immediately after its publication.

<sup>7</sup>John D. Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 1:38 (Lansing, 1877).

<sup>8</sup>The home of the author, on the grounds of which the famous tree still stands on North Kalamazoo Avenue, Marshall, was not built until 1840. In 1834 the tree was on an open hillside.



MICHIGAN'S FAMOUS EDUCATIONAL OAK



should be independent of influences exerted by various creeds or religions.

Pierce's reminiscence continues:

That gentleman [the general] went to the convention [the constitutional convention of 1835 which formulated Michigan's plans for state government] and was appointed chairman of the committee on education; drew up an article on that subject; reported the same to the convention; it was adopted and became the law of the land. *It provided what no other in the United States had done, namely: for the appointment of a Superintendent of Public Instruction.*<sup>9</sup>

Isaac E. Crary was elected as a Calhoun County delegate to the constitutional convention on April 4, 1835. The assembly convened in Detroit on May 11. Two days later Crary moved that a standing committee on education be named. On May 14 his motion was carried and he was appointed chairman. For three weeks he worked diligently and systematically with his committee and on June 2 submitted his article on education to the convention. It was adopted on June 5 without material change. On June 23 Crary was appointed one of the committee on the ordinance submitting the state constitution to the United States Congress. The following day the ordinance was reported by the committee to the convention and was adopted. Immediately thereafter several thousand copies of the proposed constitution and ordinance were printed and distributed, mostly throughout the territory, although many were sent to educators in the East. The constitution was approved by the voters of the territory on October 5, 1835. In the same election the people chose Isaac E. Crary to be their first Michigan representative in the United States Congress.

The dispute in which Michigan and Ohio were engaged, over a ten-mile wide strip of boundary land, prevented Michigan from becoming a state until January 26, 1837, following an agreement in which the disputed land was given to Ohio, while Michigan was granted the Upper Peninsula. Crary was elected as a *state* and not a territorial representative, therefore could not be seated until Michigan was admitted into the Union. He went to Washington immediately, however, and in 1835 performed probably the best work of his career in watching over and guiding his educational measures.

<sup>9</sup>Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," 38. The italics are the author's.



The three important features of the ordinance, as set forth in Article 10 of the Constitution, embodied the principles discussed and the plans formulated by Crary and Pierce the preceding year. In essence they were as follows:

1. The creation of a special department of public education, controlled by the state, and to be governed by a state officer, The "Superintendent of Public Instruction."

2. The vesting of all primary school funds with the state, to be held in trust, the income to be equitably distributed for the support of all public schools.

3. The conversion of a general fund which previously had been available for any college within the state, into a specific trust fund for the University of Michigan, the income to be forever used toward its support.

For a clear understanding of these educational changes we must consider the three features in turn. Up to this time the territories and later the states which grew out of the great Northwest Territory, made no constitutional provision for education. In the famous Ordinance of 1787 (actually a constitution for the newly developing country "north-west of the River Ohio") provision was made for the setting aside of the sixteenth section of every township for the support of schools. Theoretically it appeared to be a provident measure; actually it was indifferently successful in aiding schools. It gave the entire control of the school property to the township. Often such land was sold for a very small price, being sufficient perhaps for the building of a school but leaving no funds for its maintenance. Sometimes this "sixteenth section" was an almost valueless piece of land, a swamp or swale that no one wanted. The result was that in many localities the entire burden of education fell on the shoulders of a few. Schools might be open only three months a year, or were so costly that some parents preferred sending their children to private academies. There were no public or free schools in the present accepted meaning of the phrase. There was no uniformity in the education offered in the various townships. Without an organization to band the schools together, each small political unit engaged its teachers according to the funds it had, until the money was exhausted. The creation of a department of education in the state, with an authoritative head, was the keystone of the Crary-Pierce plan. It was embodied by Crary in Article 10 of Michigan's state constitution, also in the accompanying ordinance that was to control the future admission of all states. Its main object

was to introduce uniform education throughout the state under recognized supervision and direction.

The second provision gave the *state* instead of the *townships* the management of funds from the sale or rental of the sixteenth section, or school section of land. The state, as trustee for school lands, was to invest the total of all proceeds and apportion the interest according to the needs of the schools. This guarded against the careless sale of the sixteenth section or mismanagement of the money. It was designed to accumulate a sum sufficient to be invested to advantage, from which the income would insure schools for every township. The value of this system has been proved through the many years since it went into effect. The trusteeship of school lands was not original with Crary and Pierce, for the constitution of New York state carried a similar provision. The administration of public school funds they formulated from an article in the constitution of Connecticut. In short, Crary and Pierce combined the best features of the Prussian system of centralizing school government under the state; the New York plan of state trusteeship of educational lands; and the Connecticut provision for the investment and disbursement of school funds. They modified and enlarged upon all three, to suit the anticipated needs of the state of Michigan and of nearly all other states which in the future were to be admitted into the Union.

Pierce's story of the importance of the second part of Article 10 carries "a bit of a smile" at the carelessness of Congress in overlooking the most important feature—the vesting of school lands in the state rather than the townships. He says:

... there was one question pertaining to our primary schools of absorbing interest. . . . The question gave to General Crary, our representative, and myself, much solicitude, for on its solution depended the success or failure of our whole system. That body [Congress] at the time seemed not to be well disposed toward Michigan on account of our Southern boundary trouble.

Hitherto, on the admission of a new State, the sixteenth section had been donated to the township in each and every case. But these sections had been so managed in all the new states by the townships as to be of little worth to the cause of education. Many a section of great value was sold at an early day, and bid in by the settlers for a mere song. Besides there was no equality in the system,—one section might be valuable, another of little worth. I once sold a section for \$31,000, while in the next township the reserved section might not have been worth as many pennies. Hence

it was deemed of essential importance to us that these sixteenth sections reserved from sale should be given in trust to the State and not to the surveyed townships.

How the uniform policy of Congress could be changed, was the problem to be solved. But it was accomplished in this wise: General Crary, our representative, acted with the committee whose duty it was to draft the ordinance of admission. This work was assigned to him, and in drafting the ordinance he so worded it that these school lands were really conveyed to the State, and it passed without question. The change in the form of conveyance of these sections seemed not to have been noticed; had it been—as he subsequently told me,—no doubt the common form would have been substituted and the lands given to the townships. There was no deception about it; the ordinance spoke for itself, and yet its effect seems not to have been perceived. It was all-important to us as a State. It infused vigor into our new-born system, and life into ours.<sup>10</sup>

The third provision is said by educators and historians to have saved the University of Michigan from threatened dissolution at one time, and to have raised it to the very high rank it now holds among the universities of the nation. And although the plan was immediately adapted to a specific state university, the basis of it has fathered the organization of normal schools and agricultural colleges throughout the entire country.

Before this time, in the state of Michigan, 48,000 acres were to be selected from any part of the state as university or seminary lands. (Other new states worked under the same plan.) The income from these properties was to become a general fund available, on vote of the legislature, to any higher institution of learning. Under this provision, more than one college could make application for funds and there could spring into being any number of small seminaries which might have funds granted them by the legislature. Section 3 of the famous Article 10 provided that the proceeds from such lands "shall be and remain a permanent fund for the purpose of *said* university." This restricted the use of the fund to the support of the University of Michigan alone, guaranteeing its continued existence and endowment.

It was this Section 3 of Article 10 that defeated Marshall's hope of becoming the seat of the university. It caused a temporary breach between John D. Pierce and the Rev. John P. Cleaveland who with his enthusiasts was endeavoring to create a great center of learning in Marshall. The much heralded Marshall College, endowed by private

<sup>10</sup>Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," 40.

citizens in Michigan and in the East, expected to acquire additional support from the University lands fund through legislative recognition. It was in operation a few years, headed by the Rev. Mr. Cleaveland, and was sponsored and supported by Presbyterians. Pierce was adamant in his determination to create a University of Michigan which would not only enjoy the full support of the state but also would be free of connections with any religious denomination.

The institution at Marshall had in fact been encouraged and promoted by Pierce, acting for the Presbyterians in 1835, when Michigan College was organized, to be located in Marshall. Two years later the trustees passed this resolution: "Resolved, that in the opinion of this Board it is not expedient for the friends of enterprise to engage in advancing the interest of the University of Michigan or its branches by pecuniary patronage or otherwise." This action was of course intended mainly as a rebuke to Pierce who, after working for the establishment of a college in his own town had, with Crary, committed himself to the proposition of state support for one, and only one institution of higher learning.

In 1839 Michigan College was incorporated under the name of Marshall College. Having endorsed the Michigan College movement, which presumably would receive state aid, Pierce was placed in an embarrassing position. However, he braved the wrath of his fellow townsmen by signing, in 1839, a circulated protest against granting Marshall College a charter. He could not consistently do otherwise. Marshall College, competing with the university for state support, was an open rival. Pierce later said, regarding this situation:

When the matter for devising a plan for a university was committed to my hands it caused me no small degree of solicitude. It was said that no state institution of its kind has ever succeeded or can succeed. . . . It was proposed to name the several small colleges that already existed on paper, and others that were to come into being, "The University of Michigan," and distribute the income of the fund to them in due proportion. This, or something like it, was the plan, under whatever name or form it might have been presented at different times. This scheme I opposed with all the influence I could bring to bear against it. But it came within one vote of succeeding; and for being instrumental, as supposed, in defeating the measure in the House,—it had passed the Senate,—I was denounced on the following evening by some of its warm friends, in no measured terms.

Wishing to prepare myself for the contest that I was aware must come,

and did come in earnest, I addressed, in the summer of 1837, a circular letter to a number of gentlemen in the world of letters, proposing this question: "Shall we, in the commencement of our career as a State, grant to an indefinite number of private associations the right of conferring degrees, or, for the present, concentrate our energies in one university."

I received answers from such men as Dr. [Francis] Wayland, President of Brown University, President [Heman] Humphrey of Amherst College, President [Jeremiah] Day of Yale, Governor [Edward] Everett of Massachusetts, and Bishop [Charles Pettit] McIlvaine of Ohio, all deploring the multiplication of institutions under the imposing name of universities and colleges as unfavorable to sound learning, and advising, if possible, the plan of concentrating our energies in one university. . . .

Notwithstanding the cogent reasons and unanswerable arguments of the ablest men of the land, so persistent and combined were the private and personal interests connected with other enterprises that it was doubtful for a time, even to the last hour when the final vote was taken and the question settled, how it would be determined. Had the result been different you would never have heard of the University of Michigan, which is now the pride and crowning glory of the State. The object was to combine in one university, worthy the name of university, all the worthy elements that could possibly be brought together. . . . We had the fund and must use it, . . . not in scattering it abroad, but in accordance with the true intent of the grant, in founding and sustaining a real university.<sup>11</sup>

President Andrew Jackson submitted Michigan's constitution to Congress on December 9, 1835, and on June 15, 1836, it was ratified. Pierce's story at this point is interesting:

. . . though I had often counseled with Mr. Crary as to what ought to be done to promote the best interests of our new State, yet I had never thought of ever occupying the position provided for by the constitution, being constantly employed in the work of the American Home Missionary Society. On his way to Washington, General Crary held a consultation with Governor [Stevens T.] Mason, and proposed my name for the newly created office. The Governor expressed a wish to see me on the subject, as we were then wholly unacquainted; I accordingly visited Detroit and had an interview with the Governor about the 20th of July. After discussing the matter at some length the result was that on the 26th of the same month, in 1836, I was nominated and unanimously confirmed as Superintendent of Public Instruction for the State. I was, therefore, *the first that ever held the office in this country under a State constitution.*<sup>12</sup>

Pierce's reminiscence, outlining the problems that were his as Mich-

<sup>11</sup>Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," 42-43.

<sup>12</sup>Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," 38-39. The italics are the author's.

igan's first superintendent of public instruction continues:

At the same time [July, 1836] an act was passed requiring the Superintendent to prepare and submit to the Legislature to be convened on the first Monday in January, 1837, a plan for the organization and support of the primary schools; a plan for a university with branches; also a plan for the disposition of the university and primary school lands. This, then, was the first work assigned me to do and I had five months in which to do it. One thing was favorable: it was a day when all was astir with activity and life,—the watchword was progress and improvement. The field was clear; there were no old institutions and deep-rooted prejudices to be encountered and removed. But the condition of the State was to be taken into account. We were less than 100,000, all was wild, and the people were comparatively poor; all was to be created anew. . . .

Soon after I received my commission, I went east and visited such men as John A. Dix, Governor [William Learned] Marcy, President Humphrey, Governor Everett, President Day, and others of like character. . . . What Michigan had already done was a matter of surprise, and much solicitude was expressed for our success. I attended also the American Institute of Instruction held at Worcester, Mass., and the college of professional teachers held at Cincinnati. My object in this journey was information in regard to schools, from the primary school to the university; their organization, management, and support. The whole subject had been committed to my hands. Besides, I had over a million acres of university and school lands to look after. Such, then, was the responsibility and such the interests involved,—interests not only for the then present but for the future. . . .

After a two months' absence I returned and drew up my report. In it the great questions involved were discussed, and the three specified plans required by the Legislature were drawn out somewhat in detail. At the appointed time it was presented, and after a full and free interchange of views and some modifications, it was adopted as a whole with scarcely a dissenting voice. Such was the beginning. . . .

When the system was once adopted and the machinery in operation, it was easy to organize schools throughout the State. The apportionment to be derived from the income of the school funds operated as a stimulus to each and every school district. But here the greatest difficulty was to be met. . . . How and where is a full supply of competent teachers to be procured? . . . I proposed that a certain intermediate grade of institutions between the primary school and the university should be used for qualifying teachers for their work, as well as that for preparing young men for the university course and others for the ordinary business of life. . . . This the constitution required, and it was a favorite scheme of General Cray's. But it would be attempting more than the state of the country at that time would warrant. Accordingly, the amended constitution of 1850 left the university free and independent of all other institutions, as it ought always to have been; and the normal and union schools have taken



their places and are doing the work that the intermediate grades were designed to accomplish.

But these schools at that early day could not have been established. . . . The country was too new and too poor. . . . Outside of Monroe and Detroit we had no cities. . . . True, we had a great many on paper, but they were yet to be built. So, also, churches and school-houses,—they existed only on printed plats, like the blacksmith's shop. A traveler inquired for such a place; he was told he would find one at Marshall village. He went on and on till, out of patience, he asked a settler where he could find said shop. "Oh," said the man, "you are in the shop now, but the anvil is back seven miles on a stump". . . .<sup>13</sup>

Soon after the adoption of our school system it was reviewed in the Michigan Gazetteer, and pronounced superior to that of any other State and yet that it would be found in some measure defective. . . . One defect was that it did not provide for the support of a school in every district throughout the year. To have done this at this time would have been an impossibility. Besides, five days in a week for forty weeks is as much as any school ever ought to be kept open in one year. . . .

Even up to 1850 we failed to procure the passage of a law for the establishment of free schools, even for three months; and then the best we could do was to make it the duty of the Legislature to establish such schools after five years, and this was neglected for two years longer. The second defect pointed out was in not providing for the appointment of county superintendents, to be appointed by the State Superintendent. . . . The people were not prepared, nor could they afford, to be taxed \$1,000 more or less in every county . . . to pay a superintendent. Township inspection was our only resort. . . .<sup>14</sup>

The date, 1850, mentioned by Pierce, was the year of the second state constitutional convention. Both Crary and Pierce were elected to it and once more worked side by side in the furtherance of their school plans, particularly in the struggle for free schools.

In the interim of the two famous conventions of 1835 and 1850, Crary was constantly in national or state service. He was three times elected to Congress, in 1835 when the state was organized but not yet admitted, and in 1836 and 1838, his final term expiring March 4, 1841. In 1842 and 1846 he was elected to the state legislature. He was chairman of the committee on education and prepared the report which was

<sup>13</sup>If Pierce referred to 1836 he obviously was speaking figuratively for in 1836-37 Marshall had two church edifices, Episcopal and Congregational, while a village school house had been erected as early as 1832, on a lot adjoining on the west, the present Presbyterian Church. Marshall was incorporated as a village in 1837, when the population was about 1,000.

<sup>14</sup>Pierce, "Origin and Progress of the Michigan School System," 39-41.



adopted by the legislature to protect the university funds and to retain the supervision of the university under the department of education.

During the 1846 session Crary was speaker of the house. From 1850 until his death on May 8, 1854, at the age of fifty, he was a member of the state board of education. In the years following his congressional service, Crary lived at his Marshall home. He was first a member of the law firm of Pratt and Crary, the senior member of which was Judge Abner Pratt, father of Crary's second wife. Later Crary formed a partnership with D. Darwin Hughes under the name of Crary and Hughes.

Pierce was superintendent of public instruction for five years. He later said:

Five of the best years of my life I gave to the work. In it I travelled by night and day,—on one occasion five whole nights out of eight,—not in railroad palaces, but in lumber wagons and stage coaches, through rain, mud, frost, and storm. But I can truly say I feel fully compensated.<sup>15</sup>

Returning to the ministry in his later years, Pierce was absent from Marshall for long periods. He outlived his close friend and co-worker many years, dying at the age of eighty-five on April 5, 1882, in Medford, Massachusetts. His body was brought home to Marshall where the funeral service was conducted by the Masonic order in the Presbyterian Church.

Both of these great educators rest in Oakridge cemetery. A beautiful monument was erected to Crary by his wife, and the teachers and students of the public schools of Michigan raised a fund in 1882 for the erection of a shaft in memory of Pierce.

The Michigan system of land tenure was adopted by Congress in its grant for agricultural colleges, July 2, 1862, eight years after the death of Crary, its author and ardent exponent. The title of lands was vested in the several states as trustees and the proceeds became a perpetual endowment fund. One of these institutions was the Michigan Agricultural College at East Lansing, the first of its kind in America.

Both Crary and Pierce had their adherents and opponents, as is natural with all men of public importance. For many years there was a running dispute over the matter of placing credit where it belonged. As a matter of fact neither man can properly be called the *founder* of the Michigan public school system.

<sup>15</sup>Daniel Putnam, *Personal Reminiscences* (Ypsilanti, 1905).

Francis W. Shearman, who in succeeding Pierce in office conferred upon Marshall the honor of having given Michigan its first two superintendents of public instruction, was a contemporary of both Crary and Pierce, being associated with the latter in editing the *Journal of Education*, a monthly paper founded by Pierce in 1838. Shearman in his writings contended that Crary was the "founder" and Pierce the "organizer." A somewhat similar view was held by a writer of Michigan history, Edward W. Barber, who said: "It was my privilege to know him [Crary] well—to see him almost every day for three years—in Marshall. . . . His best work was done as the friend and advisor of John D. Pierce in founding the educational system of Michigan."<sup>16</sup>

However, Dr. Oliver C. Comstock, at a memorial meeting held by the Marshall schools on April 18, 1882, called Pierce, "the father of the school system of the state" and quoted the editor of the *Gazette of Michigan* as having written: "He was the first Superintendent of Public Instruction, as he should have been, for he was the father of our school system."<sup>17</sup>

On January 26, 1874, Pierce attended a Pioneer Society meeting in Marshall and summarized the story in a few words:

I remember the interview with General Crary, on the spot where now Mr. [Charles T.] Gorham's residence stands, when the subject of our common school system was discussed. The substance of our consultation was soon given shape, after the ideas and suggestions then made, and an officer was made whose duty it was to superintend the public schools and have charge of the public lands, chiefly through the efforts of General Crary, and the law was so changed by Congress as to make the 16th section state property, in place of township, as had been the case up to that time. Here was the origin and foundation of our present school system, and through the partiality of General Crary, who was then a member of Congress, Governor Mason appointed me its first Superintendent. It is my pride to have been one to have helped lay the foundations of our present grand school system. I want no better monument to my name than this.<sup>18</sup>

Crary left no written review of his educational work as did Pierce, whose writings have been liberally quoted. That Crary, as a member of the constitutional convention of 1835, actually drew up the famous Article 10 on education and secured its adoption, is admitted. Pierce

<sup>16</sup>Edward W. Barber, "Michigan Men in Congress: The Chosen of the People," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 35:460 (Lansing, 1907).

<sup>17</sup>Comstock, "Rev. John D. Pierce," 186.

<sup>18</sup>From the (Marshall) *Democratic Expounder*, January 29, 1874.

himself willingly gave Crary this credit, also that of securing for him the appointment as superintendent of public instruction. However, Pierce said on several occasions that the two men worked out the system together, and the majority of pioneer observations confirm this. It fell to the lot of the lawyer to record their plans in writing and to secure their adoption, but he realized that the man best fitted to put the system into execution was the preacher, his close partner in the planning. The honors appear to be too closely interwoven to detract from or add to the credit of either in this great historical enterprise.

The name of Horace Mann of Massachusetts has at times been mentioned in connection with public schools, and for some unknown reason his portrait appeared on a United States postage stamp, in the "Educator" series of 1940. The Massachusetts board of education was established in 1837, with Horace Mann as its first secretary. Mann was an indefatigable worker in the cause of public schools in his state. However, the activities and accomplishments of Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce, in 1835, when their public school plan was adopted by the Michigan constitutional convention, preceded by nearly two years the similar ideas of Horace Mann, who erroneously has been called "the father of American public schools." The salient provisions of the system inaugurated and effected by Crary and Pierce in 1835 and adopted by the United States Congress in 1836, were essentially the same as advocated and promulgated by Mann in 1837. If the latter did not actually follow the Marshall plan in all its details it is quite obvious that he was deeply influenced by it, through its circulation in the East in 1835, and through the many contacts Pierce made with eastern educators of prominence in 1836, among whom Mann's name does not appear, possibly because of his obscure position.

It is therefore clearly established that John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary stand in the light of history as the David and Jonathan of public school education in America, and that Marshall is, as it has been so aptly called, the cradle of American public schools.

The famous old white oak, under whose shade Crary and Pierce sat and counseled together in the summer of 1834, "away from the noise of the village," has for many years been listed in national reference works on historical trees, and it receives annual inspection and feeding. From one of its limbs, broken in a severe windstorm in 1941,

Mrs. William Trupiano of Marshall had several gavels fashioned which she distributed to Michigan educators. On July 3, 1930, during Marshall's centennial celebration, a bronze tablet was placed by the Daughters of the American Revolution in the street wall of the property on which the tree stands. This tablet reads:

Under the historic oak 52 feet east of this spot in the summer of 1834, Isaac E. Crary and John D. Pierce planned the Michigan public school system. This tablet was placed during the Marshall centennial celebration by Mary Marshall chapter Daughters of the American Revolution—1930.

Also, in 1930, the Marshall city council adopted a new official seal, of a design symbolizing the great and notable contribution made to education by two Marshall men. This seal, as used on the official centennial proclamation, represents a hardy oak, springing from the traditional "Lamp of Learning."

Thus closes an eventful chapter of Marshall's history, a story of two men whose dreams became actualities, profoundly affecting the destinies of millions of American citizens.

## Chase S. Osborn: A Personal Reminiscence

*Robert P. Lane*

MY FIRST CONVERSATION WITH CHASE S. OSBORN was unforgettable. "We have to get acquainted some time, don't we?" he said. "I want you to undersand this," he went on. "I've never killed anyone yet by overworking him, and I don't intend to begin on you."

His reassurance, though slightly ominous sounding, was badly needed. We were sitting in his spacious office in the executive chambers in Lansing—he leaning back, relaxed, observing me with amused discernment; I nervous on the edge of my chair, waiting for the lightning to strike. It was eight-thirty on an evening in late September, 1911. I was about to take my first dictation from him; to enter on one of the most grueling experiences of my life—and also, though I did not know it then, one of the most rewarding.

I was twenty years old. About the middle of the preceding month my friend Edward G. Kemp, now a leading attorney in Detroit, had written me from Lansing that at the end of the summer he was giving up his post as Governor Osborn's stenographer, to return to the Law School at the University of Michigan, and he asked if I wanted to succeed him. I had never written a shorthand outline, though because I did job typing in Ann Arbor, Ed Kemp thought I was an experienced stenographer. The temptation Ed offered was more than I could resist. With a temerity that now fills me with awe, I broke off my own college career, spent four frenzied weeks in a business college in Detroit, and six weeks after first hearing from Ed Kemp I reported in Lansing for as great a gamble as I could then conceive of. Ed told me, with perfect accuracy, that the Governor would leave me "trailing in the dust."

That first evening, after a few more remarks designed to quiet my jumping nerves, Governor Osborn turned to the formidable pile of correspondence on his desk, saying as he did so: "Tell Miss Hadrich to order me a new silk hat." I could not write the word "silk" in shorthand.

The Governor's speed in dictation, as in public speaking, was famous. All during the three hours he dictated to me that evening,

and over and over during the balance of the week, he held himself in with a visible restraint that must have been galling to his proud and impetuous nature. My performance was miserable, but he did not speak an impatient word. At the end of the week he left for a month's vacation and a tour of state institutions. When he returned, I was less of a cross for him to bear.

Till the expiration of his term, December 31, 1912, I had the high good fortune to stay with him. In the spring of 1912, when "Doc" (later Senator) DeFoe resigned as executive clerk to the Governor, Governor Osborn advanced me to that position, though continuing to give me his dictation. In the fall of 1912, when he took the Bull Moose stump for Theodore Roosevelt, I traveled with him. In the summer of 1914, when for a second time he won the Republican nomination for governor, I was with him for three more exciting months.

Politically, those were great days. The 1910 elections had spelled the (temporary) doom of Bourbonism in high public office; Governor Osborn's own success was helping that doom along. Governmental, social, and political reform made a heady wine to drink. Direct election of United States senators; the presidential primary; the initiative, referendum and recall; the short ballot; the minimum wage; workmen's compensation; the glittering star of Woodrow Wilson, just beginning to brighten the sky;—these and many other measures and men, though we now know most of them promised more than they could deliver, were exhilarating portents of change. The most significant portent of all—two Balkan wars in quick succession—was misunderstood and disregarded. Even when the Great War burst, in 1914, it was viewed by worldly unwise America as an old, unhappy, far off thing that could not possibly involve us. The phrase "major wrath and minor crisis" has been scornfully used to describe those pre-war thunderings, that summer lightning. But that phrase represents easy wisdom after the hard fact. At the time, our crises were as major as our wrath; and wrath in a good cause—in a score of good causes—we found an excellent tonic.

"Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven!" It is with nostalgia as great as my pleasure, and with pleasure as deep as my affection and esteem for Chase Osborn, that

I respond to the invitation of the editor of *Michigan History* to spend a few minutes among my Lansing souvenirs.

Let no one doubt that to a young man just entering his majority it was a wonderful thing to work with Chase Osborn when he was at the height of his magnificent and unbridled powers. Indeed, "power" is the one word that sums him up for all who knew him then. He radiated power. Like Pierpont Morgan (his gaze was as compelling as Morgan's is said to have been) by sheer force of personality he won men over or wore them down.

Let me pause for a moment on this matter of his gaze. In his book on Pierpont Morgan, Frederick Lewis Allen writes: "Edward Steichen, who took the great photograph [of Morgan] which appears as the frontispiece of this book, says that meeting his gaze was a little like confronting the headlights of an express train bearing down on one. If one could step off the track, they were merely awe-inspiring; if one could not, they were terrifying." No description of my own recollection of Governor Osborn's gaze could be more apt. A campaign picture of him, showing him standing erect and holding a rolled manuscript, revealed the full power of that gaze. Never have I seen such a fighting stance. That picture would give me gooseflesh if it appeared before me even now.

Back of and supporting this forbidding gaze lay great bodily strength, so the impression of sheer physical power that he made was striking enough. Still more striking was the impression made by the intellectual and emotional endowment that directed and controlled his physical power. With only seven years of formal schooling, he had boldly taken all knowledge for his province, and his range of interests and breadth of information were legendary. His vocabulary set every editorial writer in Michigan to thumbing the dictionary, as when he wrote in his inaugural message: "The saloon of today is a social saprophyte." He had traveled literally everywhere and his memory was prodigious. His reaction time was like the speed of light and his nerve kept pace with it. In the *Saturday Evening Post*, Sam Blythe once told how Osborn challenged Theodore Roosevelt to go with him into the Canadian woods. "First I'd walk the legs off of you," said the confidant governor; "then I'd lose you in the bush."

He did not know what orthodox behavior was, and apparently never had known. As a crusading editor in a rough lumber town,



he once told me, he earned the enmity of a notorious bully, who threatened to kill him. Young Osborn nonchalantly hung a hatchet in the belt of his trousers, for all to see, and went his crusading way. As a candidate for governor in 1914, he made a speech advocating the recall of judicial decisions that threw lawyers and judges into white-lipped fury; then he made a personal call on every member of the Michigan Supreme Court, punctiliously leaving his card for those judges who were out at the time of his visit. Elected in 1910 as a Republican, he not only campaigned for Theodore Roosevelt in 1912; but also, because he admired Woodrow Wilson, said publicly that he hoped the Democrats would nominate Wilson so the country would be assured of a superior chief executive. He rightly never gave Taft a prayer.

Of Governor Osborn's campaigning for Colonel Roosevelt, I have one painful memory that speaks volumes for his forbearance in dealing with a young man's rashness, but far less for my own judgment. The influence of my academic family inclined me to Wilson rather than to either Roosevelt or Taft. Despite my association with a prominent campaigner for Roosevelt, I had the bad taste to wear a Wilson and Marshall button on my watch fob. One day when we were sitting beside each other in a train, Governor Osborn saw that button. "Is that Wilson and Marshall?" he demanded, pointing. I answered that it was. "Do you realize," he then said, "that I am probably the only governor in the country to whom you could sustain the relation you sustain to me, and still wear that button?" I replied with an embarrassed affirmative, and added somewhat fatuously that realization of that fact made me the prouder to wear it. "You go right ahead," said the Governor, "act and vote as your conscience dictates." In November I voted for Wilson, but that evening I removed the button from my watch fob. Later on the same trip, the Governor said to me casually one night, "The state chairman asked me today what was the matter with my secretary. He said you don't act like a very enthusiastic Bull Mooser. I told him to let my secretary alone."

It may be gathered that Governor Osborn had an invincible capacity for friendship. He had. To an older man who had grubstaked him in his first journalistic venture, he sent Christmas messages of affection every year till the older man's death, sometimes cabling them from the world's remotest outposts. Even against his enemies, though

he was a savage fighter when the chips were down, he simply did not know how to hold a grudge. Toward the end of his life he was quoted as saying: "The longer I live, the harder I find it to hate anyone; it doesn't pay." That philosophy was of long and firm growth. His head-on collisions with conservative forces in Michigan rocked the state. Yet in 1914, as he started his campaign for a second gubernatorial nomination, he said to me: "This will be a tough battle, but I don't hate a soul. If I bite anybody in this campaign, it will be purely scientific biting."

As that last sentence shows, Governor Osborn was a phrasemaker such as one rarely encounters. As his stenographer, I had exceptional opportunity to know how spontaneous his verbal brilliance was. Here are a few examples that have never left my memory.

The conservative Ingham County Republican chairman, a homeopathic physician, issued a party statement that took a sideswipe at the Governor. A Lansing reporter telephoned him for comment and I heard him dictate this statement over the phone: "I do not know whether Dr. — is speaking as a Taft man, a homeopathic physician, or a seer. All of these are wise entities. Just what he means I have no idea, for I am neither a Taft man, a homeopathic physician, nor a seer."

"The beauty of Governor Marshall," he said to me in 1912 after learning how I planned to vote, "is that he is a pinhead. His capacity for harm is small."

Of a prominent Republican in Michigan, he wrote in a confidential letter: "A. M. would trade his gizzard to be governor of Michigan—and everything that goes with a second-class gizzard."

But his memorable phrases were not always scathing. Some were beautiful and poetic. To a correspondent who wrote to commiserate with him on the heavy burdens he was carrying, he replied: "I refuse to think of myself as Atlas for even one dreamy moment. I am only one of the millions in the formicary of life."

Late one afternoon in early May, after a punishing day's work, I reminded him that a Memorial Day proclamation had shortly to be issued. He sighed with weariness, took off his glasses, and looking toward the setting sun he dictated: "The Grand Army of the Dead continues to grow. The Grand Army of the Living is in the aftermath. . . ."

Such verbal brilliance was one of the qualities, but only one, that marked his speechmaking and kept him in constant demand as a speaker. Other qualities were intense fervor, a varied mode of treatment that ranged from homely, down-to-earth figures and analogies to polysyllabic pyrotechnics, and a torrential speed of utterance. My whole being responded with understanding when a newspaper columnist wrote:

Who talks so fast three shorthand men  
Get busy on the job—and then  
Miss eight words out of every ten?  
The Governor!

But to me the truly astonishing thing about his speeches was the lack of any written preparation. During all the time I was with him, he wrote out only two speeches in advance, and he must have made hundreds. He didn't even make notes before he stood up to face an audience. I cannot say that all his speeches had perfect organization, but he always captured his hearers and carried them with him. The "power" that stamped his whole personality was at its most effective on the platform. A hostile newspaper man once said to me: "If Chase Osborn could speak to every voter the night before an election, he could win any office he wanted."

He lived and worked at such a feverish pitch that he occasionally blew up, and when he blew up even his closest associates felt the barbed side of his tongue. At the time, not all his barbs seemed justified; nor today, in retrospect, can I alter that judgment. At the time, indeed, I was so inexperienced in office work that I took my share of his barbs more deeply to heart than an older person would have done. Once when he introduced me as his secretary, he added: "A secretary is a person who is responsible when things go right but who doesn't get the credit, and who is not responsible when things go wrong but who gets the blame." I soon learned, however, that he was as quick to lose his anger as to lose his temper, and quite as generous with praise as with blame. As the years have gone over my head, I have learned to value more and more highly the exceedingly stiff discipline to which my months with him exposed me. Though my weight dropped fifteen pounds in my first six months in his office, the missing pounds soon returned, and with them incalculable advantages, now

turned to memories that must be measured by troy weight, not avoirdupois.

He never knew fear. A great many years later, when our contact was maintained only by correspondence, I received a dictated note from him. He had signed it with his sprawling "Uncle Chase," and then added: "Am blind now. Rather like it." That was the way I learned of his blindness.

Instances of his political courage are countless. One will suffice. In 1912, Republican leaders asked him to speak at a Lincoln Day dinner in Lansing. He declined, explaining that he had just accepted a similar invitation in Jackson. Then he learned that the Lansing invitation had been a trap. All other speakers were chosen from the conservative wing of the Republican Party, and they included John Wesley Hill, a noted orator from the East, and Taft's secretary of the treasury. The governor was to have been the lone pro-Roosevelt speaker—to be surrounded, shown up, snowed under. Promptly he telephoned the local Republican leaders that if the invitation was still open he would like to accept; he could arrange to be first on the program in Jackson, and if he could be last on the program in Lansing he could keep both engagements. His proposal was accepted. He reached the Lansing meeting when it was nearly over, spoke last, told the entire story of the "trap" to an uproarious audience, and left the hall a commanding winner.

There were brave men before Agamemnon; but for those who knew Chase Osborn as governor of Michigan there have been few men in public life so brave, or so touched with the "divine insanity of noble minds," as the Iron Hunter and Iron Finder who in 1911 and 1912 shook and shocked Republican Michigan out of a twenty-year sleep, unsealed her eyes, and turned her face toward the rising progressive sun.

## Presents to Indians as a Factor in the Conspiracy of Pontiac

Wilbur R. Jacobs

HISTORIANS HAVE STRESSED THE POINT that the Indian and white cultures were in opposition to each other. The conspiracy of Pontiac was the culmination of Indian-white conflict during the colonial period, for the causes of Indian discontent reached far back into the colonial period of American history. From practically the first contacts, the impact of western civilization upon the primitive culture of the Stone Age man naturally gave rise to misunderstandings. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it is clear that the abuses at the hands of the Indian traders,<sup>1</sup> the seizing of native lands,<sup>2</sup> and the many atrocities committed by rough frontiersmen angered the tribesmen. The various colonial governments soon found, however, that giving to the Indians what in colonial times was termed "presents" was soothing medicine since it tended to cause dissatisfied warriors to forget their grievances.<sup>3</sup>

During the long series of wars between France and Great Britain that occurred previous to the Indian uprising in 1763, the Indians became accustomed to receiving lavish outlays of merchandise to win their favor.<sup>4</sup> Both contestants in these struggles for empire expended

<sup>1</sup>Many colonial administrators complained about the illegal activities of the Indian traders. A contemporary drama, attributed to the famous frontiersman Robert Rogers, clearly points out many of the abuses suffered by the tribesmen. See *Ponteach: or the Savages of America, A Tragedy by Robert Rogers*, edited by Allen Nevins (Chicago, 1914).

<sup>2</sup>One of the most painful memories to the Indians was the so-called Walking Purchase of 1737. See "Indian Deed for Lands on Delaware, 1737," in *Pennsylvania Archives* (1st series), edited by Samuel Hazard, 1:541-43 (Philadelphia, 1852-56).

<sup>3</sup>Sir William Johnson, superintendent of the northern Indians wrote that the natives expected presents, and there was an absolute necessity of observing this custom. See William Johnson to Charles Hardy, December 17, 1755, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, edited by James Sullivan, and others, 2:387-89 (Albany, 1921- ). For a typical list of presents, see Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5:1327, Library of Congress transcript.

<sup>4</sup>For accounts of British expenses, see William Knox Papers, x, in the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor; *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary*

thousands of pounds sterling upon these presents. Brightly colored strouds,<sup>5</sup> beautiful hats trimmed with lace and tinsel, and gaudy waistcoats pleased the vanity of the warrior. A sinister note was sounded by such presents as kegs of powder, scalping knives, guns, bars of lead, and bullet molds. The tone, however, was lightened by gifts like wampum, duck shot, brass pots, needles, thread, and scissors—items that were needed by native women as well as men. Even rum and brandy were used to induce hesitant sachems to affix their marks upon treaties.<sup>6</sup>

During the last of the intercolonial wars, the French and Indian War, the old native custom of giving and receiving presents proved to be a decisive factor in the story of Indian diplomacy. Europeans found that in order to carry on diplomatic relations with the aborigines all conferences had to follow adherence to custom with painstaking regularity, especially with regard to the delivering of presents.<sup>7</sup>

The period of the so-called peace, 1748-54, marked the beginning of accelerated competition for native allegiance on the part both of the English and of the French. The latter, thanks to a centralized government, could boast of a unified system of allotting presents.<sup>8</sup> The British, on the other hand, were hampered by conflicting colonial and imperial authority in handing out large subsidies to the Indians. Since the Iroquois held the balance of power between the French and the English during much of the colonial period, even as late as 1750, they are an example of a confederacy of Indians who were courted with vast out-

*Government*, 5: 518-22 (Philadelphia, 1851-53); *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 2:645; Edmond Atkin, Accounts with the Colony of Virginia, October 14, 1757, in the Loudoun Papers, no. 4640, Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Helen Louise Shaw, *British Administration of the Southern Indians*, 54 (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1931).

<sup>5</sup>The stroud was a cheap cloth made of woolen rags.

<sup>6</sup>Often, during the course of a meeting, all business had to be held up a day or two until the Indians became sober enough to proceed with negotiations. See, for example, the Journal of the Commissioners of the Winchester Conference in 1753, Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5:1328, Library of Congress transcript.

<sup>7</sup>At a meeting in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, in 1753, the Quaker colony Indian commissioners were embarrassed because they were able to offer only lists of goods which were to be delivered as a present. See *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania*, 5: 665-70.

<sup>8</sup>See Wilbur R. Jacobs "Presents to the Indians along the French Frontiers in the Old Northwest, 1748-1763," in the *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44: 245-56 (September, 1948).



lays of gifts throughout the long struggle for supremacy in North America.<sup>9</sup>

During the Seven Years' War the French were continually hampered by a lack of merchandise for presents.<sup>10</sup> What goods that were available in the form of ratteen,<sup>11</sup> blankets, powder, and lead were readily distributed to the numerous tribes that inhabited New France. It was less expensive to hold the friendship of the confederacies by "kindly presents" (to use a term often employed by the Indians) than to keep an army stationed throughout the vast hinterland of the French domain. General Louis Montcalm and other military leaders had no alternative other than to promise plunder to native auxiliaries when the supply of goods for presents dwindled.<sup>12</sup> By the year 1759 the French were unable to supply the wants of the Indians either by booty or by outright gifts of merchandise. This shortage of supplies made it difficult for the warriors to secure even powder and lead for hunting purposes.

In contrast, the British were able to recruit thousands of native fighting men by tremendous outlays of gifts made by such outstanding Indian agents as Sir William Johnson,<sup>13</sup> Conrad Weiser,<sup>14</sup> George Croghan,<sup>15</sup> and Andrew Montour.<sup>16</sup> With British victories and Brit-

<sup>9</sup>For a number of years there was an agreement among the Iroquois to permit the French and the English to fight each other without interfering on either side. See *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York Procured in England, Holland, and France*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan and others, 10:94 (Albany, 1853-87). The French were loud in their complaints regarding this policy of the Indians. The sachems of the Iroquois talked a great deal but "said nothing clear" and went home loaded with presents. See *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10: 888.

<sup>10</sup>See note 8.

<sup>11</sup>The ratteen was a grade of woolen cloth often used for coats and blankets.

<sup>12</sup>Letter to an Officer, Camp at Chouaguen, August 23, 1756, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 10:454.

<sup>13</sup>For accounts of Johnson's work as superintendent, see Arthur Pound and Richard E. Day, *Johnson of the Mohawks, A Biography of Sir William Johnson, Irish Immigrant, Mohawk War Chief, American Soldier, Empire Builder* (New York, 1930); William L. Stone, *The Life and Times of Sir William Johnson, Bart.* (2 volumes, Albany, 1865).

<sup>14</sup>Many of Weiser's journals and letters are included in Paul H. W. Wallace, *Conrad Weiser, 1696-1760, Friend of Colonist and Mohawk* (Philadelphia, 1945).

<sup>15</sup>For Croghan's work among the Ohio Indians and the Six Nations, see Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782* (Cleveland, 1926). The author's scholarly biography is somewhat in error with reference to the Indian Monacatoocha.

<sup>16</sup>The German missionary Count Nikolaus Ludwig Zinzendorf accompanied Conrad Weiser to the Indian settlement at Shamokin in 1742 and while on



ish presents came a loss of French prestige. The conquest of Canada in 1760, however, ushered in a new policy with respect to the handing out of free presents. Intent upon economizing, the British brought to an abrupt halt their liberal subsidies to the natives. The Indians with no supplies, no French finery for their women, and worst of all, no munitions were being pushed to the wall. Might they not be driven eventually into a mass rebellion? The new Indian policy held the answer to this question.

This zeal for economy in the matter of Indian expenses can be traced to one man, Sir Jeffery Amherst,<sup>17</sup> commander-in-chief of British forces in America. Sir Jeffery's correspondence shows that he reluctantly signed warrants for presents during the period of hostilities with the French; but after the war his frugal nature gained the upper hand.<sup>18</sup> He closely scrutinized the accounts of all persons who were responsible for distributing merchandise to the natives and frequently reprimanded subordinates for carelessness in handling government funds allotted for Indian goods.<sup>19</sup>

Although the commander-in-chief acknowledged the fact that he had to depend upon Sir William Johnson, northern superintendent of Indian affairs, for advice regarding the Indians, Amherst initiated a policy that was almost completely in opposition to the generous tactics of the superintendent in dealing with the natives. Sir Jeffery declared

this journey encountered the half-breed interpreter Andrew Montour. In describing Montour the Count wrote:

"Andrew's Cast of countenance is decidedly European, and had not his face been encircled with a broad band of paint, applied with bear's fat, I would certainly have taken him for one. He wore a brown broadcloth coat, a scarlet damasken lappelwaistcoat, breeches, over which his shirt hung, a black Cordovan neckerchief, decked with silver bubbles, shoes and stockings and a hat. His ears were hung with pendants of brass and other wires plaited together like the handle of a basket." See *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, edited by William C. Reichel, 1: 95-96 (1 volume, Philadelphia, 1870).

<sup>17</sup>Jeffery Amherst, 1717-97, was made a Knight of the Bath after the conquest of Canada. See *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 580-82. Previous to this time he had seen service in Europe. In America in 1758 he forced the capitulation of Louisberg. His later military accomplishments include the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759 and the conquest of Montreal in 1760. He was created a baron in 1776 and made a field marshal in 1796. Amherst's first name according to his signatures is spelled Jeffery and not Jeffrey.

<sup>18</sup>See Jeffery Amherst to William Johnson, October 2, 1759, February 23, 1760, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 141-42, 192-93.

<sup>19</sup>See, for example, Jeffery Amherst to Henry Bouquet, January 16, 1762, Jeffery Amherst to George Croghan, May 11, 1763, in the Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 83-84, 233-35, Canadian Archives photostat.

in no uncertain terms that the Indians should be occupied in bringing in skins for trade; otherwise they might "hatch mischief." He directed the commanding officers of the larger frontier posts to control rigidly the handing out of presents so that a count could be taken of those warriors who had already received goods.<sup>20</sup> The officers were cautioned to give the natives some clothing and a little powder for hunting purposes; but that was all.<sup>21</sup> The Indians were to be on their own.

A trading schedule was set up at Fort Pitt and other posts.<sup>22</sup> Here the warriors were informed that instead of getting a stroud for nothing, they had to bring in two good beaver pelts or three buckskins. Prices for other items were listed accordingly. In short, the British held that "the Indians should live by their Hunting & not think that they are always to be receiving presents."<sup>23</sup>

If the tribesmen did not like this policy, Amherst felt that they would have to adjust to the new situation regardless. Between July and September, 1761, Sir William Johnson carried the news of the new policy to the western tribes congregating at Niagara and Detroit.<sup>24</sup> Everywhere Johnson found rising hostility to the British when the Indians heard of the discontinuance of presents. Indeed, at times the superintendent's very life was in danger.

Because Johnson was unable to offer the poverty-stricken western Indians goods to relieve their sufferings after the long war, he lost an excellent opportunity to gain the friendship of these powerful Algonquian confederacies. When the Ottawa "begged" Sir William to consider their destitution, he had no alternative but to deliver Amherst's message. According to his instructions, Johnson told the Ottawa war-

<sup>20</sup>General Robert Monckton relayed Amherst's orders to Colonel Henry Bouquet. See Robert Monckton to Henry Bouquet, August 23, 1760, Bouquet Papers, A. 8, pp. 157-60, Canadian Archives photostat. It should be pointed out that Amherst approved funds for schoolmasters and ministers for the Indians and did everything in his power to suppress the giving of rum to the natives.

<sup>21</sup>*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 345.

<sup>22</sup>"Indian Trade Regulations at Fort Pitt," in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 530-32.

<sup>23</sup>Robert Monckton to Henry Bouquet, April 5, 1761, Bouquet Papers, A. 8, pp. 260-63, Canadian Archives photostat.

<sup>24</sup>"Minutes of the Proceedings of Sir William Johnson Bart with the Indians on his Way to, and at the Detroit in 1761 whither he went by his Excellency Sir Jeff. Amherst's Orders to Establish peace, & settle all affairs between the English, and the several Nations of Northern and Western Indians," July-September, 1761, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3: 428-503; Stone, *Sir William Johnson*, Appendix, 2: 429-77.

riors that they would have to support their families by an "Industrious way of life" without other assistance.<sup>25</sup>

Even the former Indian allies of the British were beginning to feel the pinch of their over-frugal masters. Reports drifted in that the people of the Miami confederacy were "all naked and in want of everything. . . ."<sup>26</sup> George Croghan working under Colonel Henry Bouquet at Fort Pitt found much dissatisfaction among the Indians who missed the frequent outlays of free goods. As early as May, 1762, the Indians cornered Croghan and inquired about forthcoming gifts. The Pennsylvania trader wrote to Johnson in his usual imperfect English stating that the Indians asked "ye reason that we allways [*sic*] was Calling them to Council During ye War & Giveing them presents & Now Take No Notice of them." The Indians said that "ye French was butt [*sic*] a poor peple [*sic*] butt they allways Cloathed any Indians that was poor or Naked when they Come to see them."<sup>27</sup>

Thus it was sorely evident to the natives that no presents were forthcoming from the British to "brighten the chain of friendship." Throughout the remainder of 1762 rumors of war were constantly being circulated, and abuses by the whites brought retaliations on the part of the Indians. While Sir Jeffery Amherst was sitting in his comfortable quarters in New York checking over old warrants for Indian expenses, the spring of 1763 found George Croghan handing out supplies to downcast tribesmen who had been refused gifts by the commanding officer at Fort Pitt. These goods cost the Pennsylvania trader a year's salary.<sup>28</sup>

In his correspondence Croghan pointed out that many of the Indian leaders were angry upon learning that so much of America had been ceded to Great Britain at the Treaty of Paris. The tribesmen living in the region of Detroit maintained that the French had no right to "give away their country"; they had never been conquered by any nation.<sup>29</sup> Another factor causing alarm among the western tribes

<sup>25</sup>*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3:472.

<sup>26</sup>Henry Bouquet to Robert Monckton, February 24, 1761, Bouquet Papers, A. 8, pp. 250-51, Canadian Archives photostat.

<sup>27</sup>George Croghan to William Johnson, May 10, 1762, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 3:732-34.

<sup>28</sup>*The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 4:62-63.

<sup>29</sup>George Croghan to Jeffery Amherst, April 30, 1763, Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 227-28, Canadian Archives photostat.

was the rumor spread by the French that the British intended to make slaves of the Indians.<sup>30</sup> With a low supply of arms to use for protection, it was only natural for the tribesmen to grow fearful of the tightfisted British who offered no presents as a token of friendship.

It was Colonel Henry Bouquet, commanding officer at Fort Pitt, who suggested calling a general conference of all the northern and western Indians to remove their fears. Amherst again rebelled at needless expense, but Bouquet argued that a few kindly presents would restore the wavering allegiance of the Indians. If the conference were held at Fort Pitt, these natives could be used as ambassadors to spread the good will of the British among the more remote tribes of the interior.<sup>31</sup> Sir Jeffery, however, was not concerned with the opinions of the savages. They should behave properly he declared, and then they would be assured of the king's protection.<sup>32</sup> Certainly the commander-in-chief did not understand Indian diplomacy and the importance of a few presents.

The situation created by Amherst was not long in bearing fruit. The sachems realized that they could expect no favors from the arrogant officers who commanded the British posts. Economic distress was everywhere. The war had prevented the Indians from caring for their crops. Tools were needed, clothing was scarce, blacksmiths from the Indian superintendent's office were needed to repair broken guns,<sup>33</sup> and powder was very difficult to secure. Fierce young warriors would slaughter a garrison of soldiers to get supplies.<sup>34</sup> Under

<sup>30</sup>William Johnson to the Board of Trade, November 13, 1763 (extract from a letter), in Francis Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada*, Appendix B, 3:198-201 (3 volumes, Boston, 1898). Not printed in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*.

<sup>31</sup>Henry Bouquet to Jeffery Amherst, May 19, 1763, Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 249-51, Canadian Archives photostat.

<sup>32</sup>See note 19. After news of the native outbreak, Amherst's Indian policy became more severe. He wrote to Colonel Henry Bouquet on June 16, 1763 declaring "I am fully convinced the only Method of Treating those Savages is to Keep them in proper Subjection, & punish without Exception, the Transgressors." See Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 262-64, Canadian Archives photostat.

<sup>33</sup>The northern department of Indian affairs made it a practice to maintain blacksmiths among the Indian tribes to repair broken weapons and tools. According to Edmond Atkin, the superintendent for the southern Indians who also employed these smiths, the tools needed for each smith must have amounted to hundreds of pounds sterling. See Loudoun Papers, nos. 3517, 3246.

<sup>34</sup>See extract of a letter from William Johnson to Jeffery Amherst, July 11, 1763, Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 313-15, Canadian Archives photostat.

such conditions it was not difficult for Pontiac to unite the Indians and then proceed to make the most of the situation.

Early in May, 1763, the attack of the Indians began with the shadowy figure of the great Ottawa leader gradually emerging as the organizer of the rebellion. In urging the Chippewa, the Huron, the Fox, and other tribes to attack Detroit, Pontiac assailed the English for treating the Indians in a shameful fashion. Because they had refused supplies for the sick, made no condolence presents for the dead, and extended no credit in trade, he declared that the British had proved themselves enemies of the Indians.<sup>35</sup>

In the massacre of the soldiers at the frontier post of Venango in the same summer, the natives also made known their grievances. After putting the garrison to the sword, the warriors forced the commanding officer to write out their complaints upon a piece of paper. The tribesmen briefly explained their actions as being the result of the scarcity of powder and other articles during the preceding two years. They also charged the British with treating the Indians in a harsh manner and not consoling them with suitable presents. The unfortunate officer was then put to death, and a party of warriors deliberately dropped the slip of paper near Fort Pitt where it was recovered and eventually reached the hands of Sir William Johnson.<sup>36</sup>

By midsummer of 1763 the warriors along the whole northwestern frontier were up in arms. The great Miami and Ottawa confederacies together with the Seneca, the Delaware, and the Shawnee laid siege to the British forts from the Ohio region to the Mackinac area. The Seneca were a particular danger to the settlers along the frontier of the northern colonies. Numbering some 1,050 warriors, they had more "fighting men" than all the remainder of the Iroquoian confederacy together.<sup>37</sup> Showing loyalty to Sir William Johnson, other members of the Six Nations assisted the British forces in putting down the conspiracy. The loyal warriors, naturally enough, were, in appreciation of their services, awarded supplies and presents.

<sup>35</sup>See "The Pontiac Manuscript"; "Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Siege of Detroit," in the *Michigan Historical Collections*, 8:273-74, 340-64 (Lansing, 1886).

<sup>36</sup>See note 34.

<sup>37</sup>See "Enumeration of Indians within the Northern Department, November 18, 1763," in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 7:582-84. With some variation in the figures, this manuscript is also printed in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 4:240-46.

Because he understood Indian diplomacy, Johnson viewed the bestowing of gifts as a well-tested technique in dealing with the tribesmen. He knew that the thousands of francs expended for this purpose by the French made the Indians overlook injustices.<sup>38</sup> Amherst, on the other hand, looked upon presents as mere bribes.<sup>39</sup> The result was that the British did little more than antagonize the natives. Indeed, none other than Sir William Johnson declared that the parsimonious attitude of the British government in the matter of presents was an outstanding cause of the rebellion in 1763.<sup>40</sup> Francis Parkman recognized this factor in a paragraph in his great work on Pontiac's conspiracy, and Howard H. Peckham in his recent study on Pontiac mentions the importance of presents in relation to the native uprising in 1763.<sup>41</sup> The failure to supply the western Indians with goods gave Pontiac a chance to capitalize upon native discontent. He made the most of this opportunity.

<sup>38</sup>William Johnson to Cadwallader Colden, January 24, 1763, in *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, 4:273-77.

<sup>39</sup>Jeffery Amherst to Henry Bouquet, January 25, 1762, Bouquet Papers, A. 4, pp. 140-41, Canadian Archives photostat.

<sup>40</sup>See note 38. An extract of this letter is printed in Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:181-82.

<sup>41</sup>Parkman, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, 1:180-81; Howard H. Peckham, *Pontiac and the Indian Uprising*, 97-98; 101-8 (Princeton, 1947).



## Glimpses of Early Transportation in Washtenaw County

*Richard G. Telfer*

TODAY IN MICHIGAN MANY OF US FAIL TO REMEMBER what has happened in the years gone by. We drive over miles of fine highway every day, we travel by train to any point we so desire, our homes and farms are equipped with the latest and best labor saving devices; this has not always been so. Should we look back into the 1800's we would find a different picture. To travel from Ypsilanti to Detroit was at least a day-long trip over muddy, log-filled roads. Many villages had only one water supply, that being the community pump. Sidewalks were of wood in the best towns and in most cases mud served as a pathway.<sup>1</sup>

Travel in the early days was undertaken either on land or water. Long before white men saw this continent, Indians went in all directions across the wilderness. Of their travels only the land trails remain for us to see.

Washtenaw County supported two great Indian trails, the great Sauk trail which led to Chicago and is now U.S. 112 and the Potawatomi trail to Battle Creek which we know as the Jackson Road or U.S. 12.<sup>2</sup> Indian trails were only narrow pathways which from the settlers point of view needed much work done on them. "The Detroit-Chicago road was first cut through toward Ypsilanti by pioneer John Bryan, reaching the Huron at Woodruffs Grove on the night of October 23, 1823."<sup>3</sup> This road was rather impassable at first but by 1833

<sup>1</sup>Reports of historical events vary greatly depending upon the source, and even eye accounts are colored by personal opinion. In presenting this picture of early transportation in Washtenaw County, I have relied upon old newspapers, statute books, court records, and the works compiled by research historians. Therefore, should anyone reading this paper come upon some idea or fact that does not agree with one of their own or that they may know about, they must remember that this account is by no means the final authority, but a compilation of early events as presented in the references listed in the bibliography.

<sup>2</sup>Roger L. Morrison, *Early Transportation in Washtenaw County by Road*, 2 (Ann Arbor, 1943).

<sup>3</sup>Morrison, *Early Transportation*, 3.

it had been extended through Ypsilanti and Saline to Chicago, and it is believed that vehicles traveled on it during that year.<sup>4</sup>

To parallel this road building, commissioners began at Sheldon in 1830 and ran a line westward for a new road; upon reaching Ann Arbor volunteers were gathered for the purpose of clearing logs and laying bridges.<sup>5</sup> During the winter the Grand River was crossed at what is now the city of Jackson.<sup>6</sup> The following spring saw many settlers leaving from Ann Arbor and moving out along the new Territorial Road which extended to the mouth of the St. Joseph River.<sup>7</sup> Ypsilanti grew from the advantages which it held over its competitors and it has held because of its vital location on the Chicago Road.

Stages came into being as soon as the roads took passable shape. In 1829 stages arrived in Ann Arbor from Detroit three times a week; two years later two different lines were leaving Ann Arbor every morning for Detroit.<sup>8</sup>

Many swamp areas were crossed by what was known as the plank road to be followed in a number of years by gravel fill in. Before the true plank road came into being, swamps were crossed by placing logs side by side across the proposed road. Such road projects were carried on by private companies, such as the Detroit, Plymouth and Ann Arbor Turnpike Company, which in 1837 received a charter for the construction of a roadway.<sup>9</sup> Before a plank road company could begin operation it was necessary to receive permission from the state legislature. One of these companies was incorporated in 1848 as the Detroit and Saline Plank Road Company with the power to lay out, establish, and construct a plank road from Detroit to Saline by way of the village of Ypsilanti.<sup>10</sup> Tolls were permitted to help pay for and keep roads in good repair. "Rates were 12.5 cents for two horses and a wagon, 20 cents for two horses and a carriage and half these fares for single rigs."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup>Morrison, *Early Transportation*, 5.

<sup>5</sup>Samuel W. Beakes, *Past and Present of Washtenaw County*, 596 (Detroit, 1906).

<sup>6</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 596.

<sup>7</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 597.

<sup>8</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 597.

<sup>9</sup>D. Farrand Henry, *Michigan Plank Road Appraisal*, 2 (Detroit, 1900).

<sup>10</sup>*Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan Passed at the Annual Session of 1848*, 110-11 (Lansing, 1848).

<sup>11</sup>Henry, *Michigan Plank Road Appraisal*, 4.

Today on many of our side roads one can still see the remains of the corduroy or plank roads of fifty years ago. As do most things, the plank road had its golden day but like so many things it has faded into the forgotten past.

So far we have seen the basic development of roads in Washtenaw County. First the Indian trail, then the work of the settlers, introducing stage coach and improvement of roads by Turnpike companies. All of these have laid the foundation for our modern system of highways throughout the entire state. Roads are just one of the important phases of progress; we must now consider the growth of the railroad in Washtenaw County. Even this picture cannot be made complete so it will be necessary to discuss two or three of the important lines that grew in this area.

In the year 1834 a War Department surveyor plotted a route for a railroad to run from Detroit through Washtenaw County to the mouth of the St. Joseph River.<sup>12</sup> It is safe to say that this project was welcomed by the residents of the areas which would be near the route of this new line. A clause in the original grant made it possible for the legislature of Michigan to purchase the railroad in 1837, at this time it was given the name Michigan Central.<sup>13</sup> This venture on the part of the state proved unsatisfactory, but not until much excitement had been enjoyed. The rails extended to Ypsilanti in 1837. At that time the line had four engines, five passenger cars, and ten cars for freight. The first trip took place in 1838.<sup>14</sup> Extension of the rails must have been a difficult process along the Huron River into Ann Arbor; it was not until October 17, 1839, that the first train reached that city.<sup>15</sup> After several years a group of eastern capitalists purchased the road from the state for some two million dollars and at once set the western terminus at the up and coming town of Chicago.<sup>16</sup> By the year 1873, the road was rated as one of the finest in the entire country, which did much to promote improvement of service and equipment.<sup>17</sup> The Ann Arbor depot was built of stone at the cost of \$25,000 in the year 1886 and the

<sup>12</sup>Orlando W. Stephenson, *Ann Arbor the First Hundred Years*, 329 (Ann Arbor, 1927).

<sup>13</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 330.

<sup>14</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 330.

<sup>15</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 599.

<sup>16</sup>Charles R. Tuttle, *General History of the State of Michigan*, 552 (Detroit, 1873).

<sup>17</sup>Tuttle, *History of Michigan*, 552.

building, which many now look upon with scorn, was the finest on the line between Buffalo and Chicago.<sup>18</sup>

During the growth of the Michigan Central, interest was developing in a route from Toledo to Ann Arbor and northward. The main factor for this program no doubt grew from the monopoly held by the Michigan Central in freight and passenger service. Governor James M. Ashley of Ohio took a deep interest in the situation and when on July 25, 1872, the trainmen of the Michigan Central went on strike, the people then realized how dependent upon this line they were, they were quick to support the Ohio governor.<sup>19</sup> The new road made its appearance in Ann Arbor on May 16, 1878; it isn't necessary to say any more than that the residents of the town celebrated with joy this new span of steel.<sup>20</sup> Today this line extends from Toledo to Frankfort on Lake Michigan, and although the passengers are few the volume of freight is so extensive that many trains run daily through Ann Arbor and other parts of the state.

On Washtenaw Road between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti, there is a single rusty railroad track. Many persons probably have wondered where it goes and if trains still run on it. Interestingly enough the track was laid in 1870. The road is known as the Detroit, Hillsdale and Indiana. It runs from Ypsilanti to Hillsdale, passing through the towns of Pittsfield, Saline, and Manchester.<sup>21</sup> At the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the founding of Washtenaw County held on July 4, 1878 in Ypsilanti, the Detroit, Hillsdale and Indiana road sponsored a twenty-one car special to bring citizens to the great event.<sup>22</sup> The road is still in operation, although no definite schedule seems to be followed and it is now a part of the New York Central System.

Before ending our discussion of railroads in Washtenaw County, the part played by the interurban should be mentioned. Until a very few years ago, the old road bed of the very popular line between Ann Arbor and Ypsilanti could be seen along Packard Road. Back in 1890 a New York firm desired to establish an interurban line in Michigan

<sup>18</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 334.

<sup>19</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 338.

<sup>20</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 338.

<sup>21</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 601.

<sup>22</sup>Charles C. Chapman, *History of Washtenaw County, Michigan*, 518 (Chicago, 1881).

and they selected the route just named.<sup>23</sup> The promoter said, "over five hundred people a day will want to ride between the two towns." People laughed, but later they found his estimate to be very conservative.<sup>24</sup> Cars ran every half hour and the fare was only ten cents, even less than by modern bus today. Above all was the fact that the University of Michigan had three thousand boys and not enough girls and the Normal College in Ypsilanti had one thousand girls and not enough boys; the street railway helped to restore an equilibrium on weekends.<sup>25</sup> Many citizens of the two towns can relate interesting tales about these little cars that traveled back and forth before the age of the motor car.

The days of the Indian trail, stage coach, railroads with only a very few engines and cars, and the interurban have passed. It seems only fitting that a tribute be paid to those early settlers of Washtenaw County who worked against great odds to lay the foundation for our system of transportation as we have it today.

<sup>23</sup>Stephenson, *Ann Arbor*, 342.

<sup>24</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 602.

<sup>25</sup>Beakes, *Past and Present*, 603.

## From Illinois to Lake Superior and the Upper Peninsula by Steamer in 1852

*Edited by Lewis Beeson*

*The first portion of a diary by Edward Brewster, "From New York to Illinois by Water in 1840," with an introduction by Mr. Dwight L. Akers, was published in the September, 1948 issue of MICHIGAN HISTORY. Edward Brewster, a schoolmaster born in Orange County, New York, in 1793, purchased five hundred acres of government land in Kane County, Illinois, in 1839. The following year he went West with his family to farm his acreage. Brewster worked diligently to improve the educational facilities in this pioneer settlement. In 1854 he moved to Chicago to teach English in a private school and in 1855 was appointed a member of the board of education of that city.*

*A second portion of Edward Brewster's diary, "From Illinois to Lake Superior and the Upper Peninsula by Steamer in 1852," describes an interval in Brewster's career in Illinois. In 1845 he was tempted to see at firsthand the Upper Peninsula of Michigan which had attracted nation-wide interest when copper was discovered there in 1840. This is the record of his journey to Lake Superior and the Upper Peninsula during the early days of mining operations in that region.*

*The diary has been edited and transcribed for publication by courtesy of its present owner, Mr. William Board of Washingtonville, New York. Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Akers for material borrowed from his introduction to part one of the diary which has been used in this introduction to part two. Ed.*

### DIARY OF MY TRIP TO LAKE SUPERIOR AND THE UPPER PENINSULA

*Edward Brewster*

Saturday morn[ing]. At a wood yard 6 miles from the "Sault". Taking on wood. All hands bringing on board a stick or two at a time.



A distance of 4 or 5 rods. This wood is prepared by a fur company. Is sold at \$2.50 p[e]r cord. It seems to me now that I would prefer this business to any of the so much talkd of mining operations. About 2000 cords of wood Capt[ain] Averel tells me is taken by his boat & the "Julia Palmer" annually. The wood is taken from government land. Is abundant. To be drawn over level ground but a short distance. Is soft wood—fir, spruce, burch, maple.<sup>1</sup>

Finish'd wooding about 8 o'clock. Slowly steaming up the river which here widens to a broad expanse. The Julia Palmer here passd us on her way up the lake running near us & when opposite letting off a few puffs of steam. Which is understood among boatmen to be a sort of defiance. A boast—as much as to say "I can beat you any how." It is ever thus. He who outstrips his neighbor in wealth—in learning—in professional acquirements or physical endowments is generally gaseous enough in some way or other to make known his superiority. The propeller Independence was built in Chicago. Was taken over the portage at the Sault in 1845 at a cost of \$2500.

10 o'clock. Am now fairly launch'd on the wide expanse of Lake Superior. The experiment of pure clear cold water is now certainly in progress. The water here about 10 or 12 feet deep. Perfectly transparent. The bottom is clearly discerned. A perfect bed of rocks piled on rock. The problem of the prairies now to me seems solved. The rich mold of our fertile plains was originally the flesh covering the bare bones of this now naked region. Here too is the home of our boulders or hard heads which not unlike many other emigrant hard or soft heads have by some means or other got strangely out of place.

Saturday 12 o'clock. A thick haze or fog shuts in our view. Our passengers consist mainly of miners going up to work in the various "locations" and young men employd by the proprietors to cut wood, drive teams etc. Much of our freight is machinery some of it very expensive requisite to work the various mines. Not only copper but iron, silver, tin, platina—and 'tis said that the lamented Dr. Houghton

<sup>1</sup>Brewster employed dots and dashes freely in his diary, without regard to meaning or sentence structure. The editor has retained most of these as periods at the end of sentences. Thus the division into sentences and the capitalization throughout are the editor's. The internal punctuation, the italicization, and the quotations are Brewster's. Deletions consist principally of material which, in the editor's opinion, has little direct relation to the journey to Lake Superior and the Upper Peninsula. L. B.

who was lost near Eagle River had exhibited specimens of gold the location of which he had ascertain'd. The knowledge is however lost with him.

We are now passing White Fish Point. The steam escape pipe was made to give a signal understood by the fishermen on shore who hasten off with the required freight. In addition to the white fisher the point is dotted with Indian lodges. Rude tents coverd sometimes with old sails but most commonly with bark. The lazy Indian is lazily putting out & taking up the net which the more industrious squaw makes & mends.

Saturday Eve[nin]g. Continued fog with indications of rain.

Sunday Morn[in]g. Cool & damp. Whatever may be the calendar time the tonic atmosphere of this morn[in]g marks the middle of October. Linen coats & white pants are below zerow. Glad to find in the pockets of my overcoat a pair of woolen mittens. After brisky promendading on the upper deck for ½ an hour was glad to seek the warmth of the cabin. We are now passing the *Pictured Rocks* but owing to the fog the view looses much of its interest. Like the sermon which need-ed the thunder & lightning which accompanied its delivery to be printed with it in order to give it its full effect these rocks need *sunshine* to paint their pictures on them. Although slowly passing within proper distance we see only the shading of the picture. These rocks form a high pile skirting the coast for several miles. Are composed of white sand stone rising in almost perpendicular cliffs to the height of 3 or 400 feet. Coverd with a dwarfish growth of evergreens. The metallic qualities of the rocks themselves or the nature of the soil which covers them with the action of the damp atmosphere of lake upon their almost polish'd surface stained them with all the hues of the rainbow. I can easily conceive that such an arrangement of matter when acted upon by that great daguereotypist sunshine would be thrown into myriads of monster kaledescopes. From the crevices in these solid walls of white stone leap forth at various heights of 50 or 100 feet numerous beautiful cascades which freed from the barriers that have detain'd in their complacency with the great law of gravitation now gladly spring out and mingle their waters with the lake below. Beautiful caverns meet the eye in almost every direction, the entrance to which over the almost fathomless deep green waters is through

stupendous arches of strong masonry the architect of which must have been indeed a master workman.

Sabbath. 12 o'clock. Have retired to my room for the purpose of recording a traditionary legend (just related to me by a gentleman for many years connected with the American Fur Company & who is now engaged in some of the mining operations). It has reference to a noted personage whose name as I understood it Menaboujou. He was the Noah of this part of the heathen world. Was said to have been created by the great Manito himself as the head chief of all the red men & special guardian of Lake Superior & the Chippewa tribe in particular. Some part of the tribe claim that he was Manito himself. He was not only great in endowments but of immense size & very powerful capable of controlling not only the wind & the waves but of grasping the lightning & hushing the thunder. His anger congeald the waters to ice & coverd the land with snow. Could not only assume the appearance but put on or take to himself the nature of any animal. That he employ'd himself in passing from island to island & from one headland to another visiting the different lodges & performing wonderful exploits whilst he lived. Wars and intemperance were unknown. He died by the hand of the Evil One having been challenged by him to mortal combate. The engagement took place on the top of a mountain during a tremendous thunder storm. He was buried at his own request in the centre of the lake. As his huge corpse sunk to the bottom of the lake a gigantic pillar of rock bearing his resemblance rose from the waters which still remains on a hitherto undiscovered island to which the innocent & good at death are gatherd.

3 P. M. Chilly north wind. Fog clearing away. Every indication of one of those fearful storms which sometimes so suddenly arise on this great lake. 'Tis but a few days since the schooner Merchant left the "Sault" bound up the lake with her usual crew & nine passengers & naught is known since of the vessel or crew. Doubtless all are lost. Whether by lightning, by their own fires, or running on conceald rocks or dash'd against the iron bound coast will never be known. Her fate may soon be ours. These waters unlike those of the lower lakes, have not yet been ploughd & cross ploughd & every place of danger known & marked. Few natural harbours. No artificial ones.

6 o'clock. Approaching land. Mouth of Carp River. A number of miners. Some machinery & other fr[igh]t have been [ . . . ]

Monday morn[in]g. 19 July. Nought to be seen but the bright blue sky above & the dark blue waters beneath. The threatning storm of yesterday passd away as we entered a beautiful bay in which we anchor'd in 3 fathoms water about 100 rods from the sandy cliffs bounding the shore of the bay. A single Indian lodge was seen standing on the bluff. It appear'd cover'd with white cloth. In a form a half globe and at the distance we lay might easily be mistaken for a low modern build cottage painted white. I signal'd an Indian boy (becon[in]g with my hand) who immediately came up paddling his canoe to our vessel. Three others beside myself seated took seats in his light craft & gliding rapidly over the still water were soon landed. We scrambled up a little ravin in the sandy cliff on which stood the white lodge which we now discover'd was a tasty specimen of Indian architecture. White birch crotch's set in the ground in circular form about 4 feet in height were its posts. In these were laid the plates to which were attached by strips of bark the rafters terminating in a point at the centre. The siding & shingles were white birch bark about as thick and almost as strong as sheep skin. Its interior was in good keeping with its exterior appearance. All around the out side was carpetted with matting made of rushes & other strong grasses found in the marshes. Then came circle about two yards in width neatly cover'd with the young branches of the spruce the fir & pine neatly arranged with all the painters art with reference to mingling the different tints & so interwoven as to exhibit only a few inches of the extremities of the branches. Inside this again another circle of clean pebbles from the shore of the lake. The centre of all being the white sand from the beach on which was burning slowly a few birch brands—the smoke from which escaped through an aperture in the top which opening served the double purpose of chimney & window. It was occupied by a full blood middle aged Indian & his squaw of about the same age. I saw no papoose other than the lad who brought us to the shore. I could not resist the soft cool inviting appearance of the evergreen carpet & threw myself upon it in the recumbent position of its owner & his swarthy spouse. It was a lovely place and this Adam & Eve appear'd to know & to enjoy it. But

this Garden of Eden is already polluted by the presence of the invading white man. Here we left a party consisting of 10 young men from Michigan who are soon to be followed by 20 others engaged as men of all work for a company who are erecting a furnace 8 miles in the interior on a small stream known as "Carp River" at the base of what may properly be called an iron mountain. They are accompanied by one of the proprietors (a Mr. Kerr) who tells me his iron mountain is 300 feet high & several miles in circuit composed entirely of masses of ore yielding 80 lbs. of iron to 100 lbs of ore & of a quality superior to any yet known. Here was landed also for the use of this company one cow & a yoke of oxen in a manner to me entirely new. They were led to the gangway & unceremoniously plunged into the lake the affrighted animals on rising to the surface gazed wildly around & casting a reproachful look at the steamer from which they had been thus summarily ejected struck off for the shore. Alas poor brutes you are forever separated from your fellows of the prairie. You have been baptized into a new world from which there is no escape.

Much disappointed this morning on the discovery of land this morning. All were congratulating each other on what was thought our quick passage to Keweenaw but as we approached the land and its outline distinctly marked our course was suddenly changed to an entirely different point of compass. We were nearing what are known as the Huron Islands. The metallic nature of which the captain alleges attracted his compass from its true north. If true another source of great danger in the navigation of this lake.

3 o'clock P. M. At a "Bere DeGris" [Bête Grise] Bay taking on wood which are compelled to bring off nearly  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile in small boat. The wood which is cut & stacked some 4 rods from the shore is brought by hand to the margin of the lake where it is again taken about as far by hand wading in the surf to the small boat which conveys it to the steamer lying at anchor in the bay. This bay is a smaller indentation of the coast of the great Keeweenaw Bay. With the first boat that went for wood I landed on the shore where after a fruitless search of  $\frac{1}{2}$  an hour for the famous agates & conchians, I took a fine bath in the cold water which for the annoyance of mosquitoes which appeared to take too great liberties on such short acquaintance was a great luxury.

At 3 o'clock we weigh'd anchor & skirted along the coast of the great Keneewa Bay. Reaching the point of that name just at dark the view of the succession of high hills (they could hardly be denominated mountains) there sunny side burnish'd with the beams of the gloriously setting sun contrasting finely with the dark declivities & deep ravins oer which a sombre mantle seemd fast spreading.

Tuesday morn[in]g. ½ past 3. Leaving Copper Harbour. The most perfect natural to be conceived. The entrance to which is protected by Fort [Wilkins] which I understand is now ungarrisoned. The troops having been withdrawn for the purpose of "Conquering a Peace" with or a *piece* from our sister republic. The public building have a very pretty appearance seeming to nestle in security and peaceful seclusion among the green branches of the fine trees which surround them. A most lovely Indian summer morn. Not a breath of wind disturbs the glassy surface of this miniature bay. The water is so very still & transparent the whole shore seems floating on its surface. Each tree log hut Indian lodge or lofty rock discernable on land has its counterpart its antipodes as plainly seen inverted below; in short you seem to be peering away under the land just as far as above it. The robin was singing out his early morning matins. The thrush from the branches below was pouring on the early air his sweet song whilst the loud crowing of Chanticleer from the midst of this harem of northren beauties was in no wise a discordant note in this musical choir. To complete the finish & vary the beauty of this exciting view the sun like a low blaze of fire came rising directly from smooth still broad expanse of water far away in the n[orth] e[ast] and is if in compliment to the association of the place the whole lake in that direction put on the appearance of liquid bronze.

Leaving Copper Harbour we skirted a range of high land, the loftiest summits of which I was assured rose 800 f[ee]t above the level of the lake. The run from Copper to Eagle Harb[our] about 20 miles was delightful in the extreme as the sun the cool water of the lake a bland breeze sprung up from the south west as I stood on the deck inhaling & ejecting this tonic atmosphere. My lungs seem'd bathed & punified. Eagle Harb[our] is another of those land lock'd bays which are peculiar to this coast. The entrance to which from the lake is difficult in rough weather but having made the inner bay a vessel would ride out any storm in safety—nature having erected a substan-



tial breakwater all around. We left here several passengers destined to "Eagle River" who prefer'd walking home a distance of nine miles through the wood to accompanying our steamer to the north shore of the lake & returning with her a distance of [ . . . ]

Tuesday 20 July. Quite an accession to our company from Eagle Harbor in persons of several ladies crossing the lake on a pleasure excursion. My young friend Watson & myself are somewhat startled with the apprehension that our pleasant state room will be required for their accomodation.

12 o'clock at Isle Royal. Eve[r]g[reens] skirting its wild shores. A dark portentous cloud slowly rising in the n[orth] w[est] low thunders uttering their voices. About sun down doubled the western extremity of the island. The storm now burst upon us. Were desirous of making a landing on the Canada or north shore but could [not] effect it in the night & during such weather. Compell'd to put about & run out into the lake in order to avoid the dangers of a lee shore. Passd a rough night. In the morning were south 20 miles from our desired haven. The entrance to which was effected about 10 o'clock. The run this morn[ing] among the stupendous & solitary island, the main land forming a barrier of mountain eminences viewed from a distance on the lake it realizd all my conception of "Alps on Alps" whilst the abrupt perpendicular isle rising to the height of from 800 to 1300 f[ee]t seemingly one solid block of granite cov[ered] only on the top with a feeble growth of dwarfish evergreens. The whole view from the shore where we landed in wild romantic grandeur exceeds any thing I have ever before seen without exception even N[ew] Y[ork] Bay. Here we left a company of miners and their supplies for the y[ea]r. The agent of the company a Mr. Childs was of the party who very politely took as many of our company as were desirous of going into his mine the entrance to which is what they call a drift into the mountain. This drift is about 8 f[ee]t wide and 6 high. They have now penetrated 150 feet into what seems solid rock following their vein of silver. It is obtained by blasting a slow & tedious process. The agent seems very sanguine that the mine will enrich all its owners. J. H. Kenzer Esq. of Chicago is a very considerable shareholder. We loitered around the beautiful shores of this lonely bay until after noon. As we left this natural

harbour Mr. Childs arranged his men some 25 gave us three cheers which were returnd from all on board.

Thursday morning we were off Eagle River on the American side. Notwithstanding the waves ran *hills high* I venturd in the small [boat] with two others & reach'd the beach in safety though not without some difficulty and danger (it was off the mouth of this river that the lamented Douglas Houghton met his fate). The wind blowing nearly direct on shore the capt[ain] was unwilling to agree to remain more than 3 hours. We made a forc'd march to the Cliff Mines 4 miles in the mountain. The morn[in]g was cool. Having reach'd the mines just as the operators were entering for the day we went in with them as far as the drift extended. They then drop'd down a shaft to the depth of 180. It looked so dark & dismal & was so wet & dirty that to descend we must change our clothes & assume the miners dress & our time being so limited we declind the offer & contented ourselves with viewing the specimens above. Took a hasty look at the different operation obtaind specimens & hurried back found the small boat on shore waiting for us & were soon on board again with the satisfaction of thinking we had seen the richest copper mine in the world. It is now Thursday eve[nin]g. We are doubling the cape or point of Keewenaw with a greatly increasd number of passengers from the p[oin]ts touch'd during the day.

## Michigan Bibliography: 1948

*Compiled by Russell E. Bidlack*

When the "Michigan Bibliography" for 1947 was published in the March, 1948 issue of MICHIGAN HISTORY, it was the intention of the editor to include an annual bibliography in succeeding March issues of the magazine. Experience with that bibliography, both before and after its publication, has led him to believe that it would be better to schedule the bibliography in the December issue of MICHIGAN HISTORY rather than in the March. The second annual compilation of materials on Michigan history, therefore, appears below.

The compilation of an annual bibliography was suggested by the trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan, who felt that such a research tool was greatly needed and would prove to be most useful. Accordingly, Dr. Joe Norris of Wayne University and Dr. Lawrence S. Thompson, then of Western Michigan College of Education and now of the University of Kentucky, undertook the responsibility of seeing that the first bibliography was compiled. The actual work was done by Mr. John Yzenbaard of Central High School, Kalamazoo, who at that time was professor of history at Hope College.

When Dr. Thompson left Michigan for Kentucky, Dr. Norris became sole chairman of the committee on bibliography and index of the Historical Society of Michigan. With his change of position, Mr. Yzenbaard felt that he could not undertake the work of compiling the bibliography for the year 1948, consequently, Dr. Norris faced the task alone.

Dr. Norris is an historian and not a bibliographer. Nevertheless, he proceeded with the compilation of the 1948 bibliography. In the meantime, through his efforts and that of the writer, the interest of Mr. Rudolph Gjelsness, chairman of the department of library science at the University of Michigan, had been aroused and his assistance with the bibliography obtained. Through the cooperation of Mr. Gjelsness, Mr. Russell E. Bidlack, a graduate student and teaching fellow in library science at the University, agreed to compile the bibliography. The compilation which follows, therefore, is the work

of Mr. Bidlack. The editor of MICHIGAN HISTORY; Dr. Joe Norris, chairman of the committee on bibliography and index of the society; and the trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan wish to express their appreciation for the time and effort Mr. Bidlack has spent on the bibliography, and the aid received in its compilation from Mr. Gjelsness. Ed.

## INTRODUCTION

The 1948 bibliography of Michigan history follows the form and type of inclusion used in last year's compilation. The chief difference lies in the division of material into three main categories: books and pamphlets, articles, and unpublished material and miscellaneous. Entry has been made under author wherever possible. In the case of anonymous works, entry is under title, with the exception of biography which is entered under the surname of the biographee, in brackets.

A broad definition has been given to the term "Michigan history," and the tendency has been to include all items which, conceivably, could be of potential value to the research student investigating any aspect of Michigan's past, however specialized.

All the periodicals which were known or suggested to the compiler as being likely to contain historical data relating to Michigan were searched carefully. The standard indexes were used to locate items in popular magazines. The house organs and trade journals preserved at the Burton Historical Collection were examined and found to contain much valuable material. However, many important Michigan publications of this nature were inaccessible to the compiler and constitute an omission in the present bibliography. No attempt was made to include newspaper articles.

A determined effort was made to include all books published in 1948 which contained Michigan history. Accessions in the Burton Historical Collection, the Michigan Historical Collections, and the University of Michigan Library, along with the standard book lists, constituted the primary sources for this type of material.

Although the compiler did not search specifically for biographical data on Michigan residents, all which he came across during his investigation has been included.

Without doubt many important items have been omitted in this compilation. In order to compensate for this shortcoming, a supplement to the 1949 bibliography will be added to include those omissions discovered through the coming year. Members of the society are urged to assist the committee on bibliography and index by calling these omissions to the attention of Dr. Joe Norris of Wayne University.

#### BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

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- BABST, EARL and VANDER VELDE, LEWIS G., eds. *Michigan and the Cleveland Era*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. 372 p. Sketches of University of Michigan staff members and alumni who served the Cleveland administration, 1885-89, 1893-97.
- BALD, F. CLEVER. *Detroit's First American Decade, 1796 to 1805*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan Press. 276 p.
- BALD, F. CLEVER. *Gabriel Richard, the First Vice-President of the University of Michigan*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, *Bulletin*, no. 2. 5 p.
- BALD, F. CLEVER. *The Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, *Bulletin*, no. 3. 15 p.
- BALD, F. CLEVER. *A Portrait of Anthony Wayne*. Ann Arbor. *Bulletin of the Clements Library*, no. 52. 15 p. Contains a historical essay on General Wayne at Detroit and a reproduction of the Jean Pierre Henri Elouis portrait of the General.
- BEAL, ROBERT. *Just Yesterday, a Collection of Pictures and a Bibliography of Reference Materials for the Enjoyment and Use of Students and Other Citizens of Macomb County*. Mt. Clemens. Privately printed. 44 p.
- BEATTIE, JOSEPH A., COURTIS, DR. STUART, and SHEPLOW, SAMUEL. *The Franklin Scene, an Informal History of Detroit's Oldest Social Settlement*. Detroit. Privately printed. 35 p.
- Bibliography of Michigan County Histories, with a Report on the Holdings of 213 Libraries in Michigan and Neighboring States*. Ann Arbor. University of Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections. Mimeographed. 28 p.
- CAMPAU, M. WOOLSEY. *A Paper on the Campau and Woolsey Families [of Detroit]*. Detroit. Mimeographed. 21 p.
- CORBETT, LUCY and SIDNEY. *Long Windows: Being More Pot Shots from a Grosse Ile Kitchen*. New York. Harper and Brothers. 208 p.
- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. *Life and Voyages of Louis Jolliet*. Chicago. Institute of Jesuit History. 289 p.

- DUBESTER, HENRY J., comp. *State Censuses: An Annotated Bibliography of Censuses of Population Taken after the Year 1790 by States and Territories of the United States*. Washington. Government Printing Office. Contains a list of Michigan censuses.
- DUNLAP, KATHERINE, ed. *One Hundredth Anniversary, First Congregational Church, Wayne, Michigan, 1848-1948*. n.p. Privately printed. 63 p.
- FORD, R. CLYDE. *My Michigan*. Delaware, Ohio. Gateway Publishing Company. A children's reader.
- FOSTER, T. G., comp. *Townships in Michigan: An Alphabetical List*. Lansing. Michigan State Library. Mimeographed. 16 p.
- HAMER, ALVIN C., ed. *Detroit Murders*. (Blood-hound mystery, regional murder series, volume 8) New York. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 218 p.
- HATHAWAY, ELLEN C. *What the Schools of Michigan Are Doing to Promote the Study of Community and State History*. Lansing. Historical Society of Michigan. Mimeographed.
- HEDRICK, ULYSSES PRENTISS. *The Land of the Crooked Tree*. New York. Oxford University Press. 350 p. Autobiographical—memories of L'Arbre Croche, Michigan, 1874-1890.
- HOLT, WILLIAM ARTHUR. *A Wisconsin Lumberman Looks Backward*. n.p. Privately printed. 81 p. The story of the Holt Lumber Company in Wisconsin and Michigan, 1880-1930.
- KING, CHARLES B. *Golden Anniversary, 1898-1948: Dedication of the Bronze Tablet at the Brodhead Naval Armory, Detroit, Commemorating the Service of the Officers and Crew of the U.S.S. Yosemite in the Spanish-American War*. n.p. Privately printed. 15 p.
- KNUDSEN, ARTHUR and EVELYN. *A Gleam Across the Wave: The Biography of Martin Nicolai Knudsen, Lighthouse Keeper on Lake Michigan*. n.p. Privately printed. 64 p.
- LANE, FERDINAND C. *The World's Great Lakes*. Garden City. Doubleday and Company. 254 p. Section on Lakes Michigan and Huron.
- LEENHOUTS, ABRAHAM. *From the Crest of the Hill: The Life and Philosophy of a Dune—Country Doctor*. Holland. Denny-Lindenmuth-Hierta. 204 p. An autobiography.
- LOHMEYER, FRANCES CHRISTINE and McPHARLIN, WILLIAM H. J. *Recollections of Cleveland and Detroit, 1898-1948*. n.p. Privately printed. 77 p.
- Michigan Society of Architects. *Reconversion of the Barnes Mansion for Use as a Governor's Residence: A Report to the Governor*. n.p. Privately printed. 24 p.
- MURRAY, CARLTON G. *The 1364 Days from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day with Michigan Bell*. n.p. Michigan Bell Telephone Company. 77 p. Includes Michigan Bell's Military Roster of World War II.
- Ortonville Woman's Club. *Ortonville Centennial Booklet, 1948*. n.p. Privately printed. 52 p.



- OTIS, EDNA M. *Their Yesterdays: AuSable and Oscoda, 1848-1948*. n.p. Otis Press. 56 p.
- POLSCHER, ANDREW A. *Father Richard: Notes on his Printing in Early Detroit*. Detroit. Detroit Club of Printing House Craftsmen. 21 p.
- PORTER, MONICA WEADOCK. *Josephine Van Dyke Brownson*. New York. Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart. 40 p.
- PRAKKE, H. J. *Drenthe in Michigan. 'N Studie over het Drentse Aandeel in de Van Raalte-Trek van 1847*. Assen. Van Gorcum and Company. 86 p.
- QUAIFE, MILO M. and GLAZER, SIDNEY. *Michigan: From Primitive Wilderness to Industrial Commonwealth*. New York. Prentice-Hall, Incorporated. 374 p.
- REED, MARSHALL R. *Nardin Park Methodist Church*. n.p. Privately printed. 24 p. Description and history of the church windows.
- RICHARDS, WILLIAM C. *The Last Billionaire: Henry Ford*. New York. Charles Scribner's Sons. 422 p.
- ROSALITA, I. H. M., SISTER M., ed. *Achievement of a Century: The Mother-house and Missions, Congregation of the Sisters, Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945*. Detroit. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Incorporated. 299 p.
- ROSALITA, I. H. M., SISTER M. *No greater service: The History of the Congregation of the Sister Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, Monroe, Michigan, 1845-1945*. Detroit. Evans-Winter-Hebb, Incorporated. 863 p.
- SAGENDORPH, KENT. *Michigan: The Story of the University*. New York. E. P. Dutton and Company. 384 p.
- SPARKS, JACOB B. *Jacob's Well of Life*. Royal Oak. Privately printed. 302 p. Autobiography.
- SWARD, KEITH T. *Legend of Henry Ford*. New York. Rinehart and Company. 550 p.
- WAHR, FRED B. and COLLINS, BESSIE C. *The Descendents and Antecedents of Daniel and Abigail Howe Wallace [of Saline and Washtenaw counties]*. Ann Arbor. The Edwards Letter Press. 73 p.

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- ANDERSON, CHARLES A., ed. *Frontier Mackinac Island, 1823-1834: Letters of William Montague and Amanda White Ferry*. *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, 26:101-27, 182-91. June and September. (Continued from December, 1947.)
- BALD, F. CLEVER. Colonel John Francis Hamtramck. *Indiana Magazine of History*, 44:335-54. December.
- BARCUS, FRANK. A History of Detroit in Round Numbers. *Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society*, 5:8-9. December.

- BEESON, LEWIS, ed. From New York to Illinois by Water in 1840. *Michigan History*, 32:270-89. September. An introduction to *Diary of My Trip West* by Edward Brewster.
- BISHOP, WILLIAM W. College Days—1889-93: Fragments of Autobiography. *Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review*, 54:340-52. Summer.
- BISHOP, WILLIAM W. Some Recollections of William Lawrence Clements and the Formation of His Library. *Library Quarterly*, 18:185-91. July.
- BLINN, THOMAS W. Some Notes on Early Michigan Postal Markings. *Michigan History*, 32:150-56. June.
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- BRISTOL, R. C. The First Exportation of Wheat from Lake Michigan. *Inland Seas*, 4:201-2. Fall. Reprinted from the *Chicago Daily Democrat* of May 8, 1849.
- BROTHERTON, R. A. Meaning of Escanaba. *Inland Seas*, 4:210-11. Fall.
- BROWN, HENRY D. The First Historical Society in Detroit. *Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society*, 4:5-8, 12. February.
- BROWN, HENRY D. Gabriel Richard Sesquicentennial. *Bulletin of the Detroit Historical Society*, 4:4-12. Sketches of Father Richard as a citizen, publisher, patriot, educator, minister, territorial delegate, etc.
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- BURKLUND, CARL E. An Early Michigan Poet: Lewis J. Bates. *Michigan History*, 32:367-73. December.
- BURTON, CLARENCE M. History of Abstracting in Wayne County. *The Detroit Lawyer*, 16:177-80, 189-90. September.
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- DELANGLEZ, JEAN. Cadillac at Detroit. *Mid-America*, 30:152-76, 233-56. July and October.
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- DE VISSCHER, JERRY, ed. Detroit's Last Indian Massacre. *The Totem Pole*, 32:1-5. December. Contemporary account as reprinted in the *New York Herald*, December 13, 1815.
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- DOWLING, EDWARD J. The Ships that Made Milwaukee Famous. *Inland Seas*, 4:83-95. Summer. Lake traffic and car ferries across Lake Michigan.
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- ENGBERG, GEORGE B. Who Were the Lumberjacks? *Michigan History*, 32:238-46. September.
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- FAULKNER, FORD C. Home Town: Sault Ste. Marie. *The Hiawathan*, 1:8-11, 54. July.
- FEY, CHARLES. General Alexander Macomb. *The Masonic World*, 14:13, 20-21. June.

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# Michigan Folklore

## LOCAL TRADITIONS OF REDFORD

*Newell E. Collins*

FOLKLORE AND HISTORY COME CLOSEST TOGETHER IN THE PAST of the small community. Much of this past lingers in oral memory rather than written document, as a kind of oversized family tradition. Every town has its remembered escapades and characters and disasters. These are not necessarily folklore, except insofar as repeated tellings blow up and recolor an incident; and yet widespread folktales often do appear as accredited local fact. The manuals and handbooks for the town historian advise the collecting of these fugitive oral anecdotes, as a genuine part of the local history.

Mr. Newell Collins has done just this for the suburban community of Bell Branch or Redford Center, now the corner of Fenkell Avenue and Telegraph Road within the city limits of Detroit. He was born there in 1881, and from his own recollections and those of his neighbors has accumulated a sizable store of local tales. The following come from his collection.

RICHARD M. DORSON

### CONDITION POWDERS

On the Berg Road there is said to have lived an odd character who augmented the income from his farm by compounding "Condition Powders." This concentrated dynamite was claimed to be good for almost everything from falling hair to fallen arches and possibly was so called for the reason that it was taken under all conditions. This sovereign remedy was good for man or beast and people drove from miles around to secure their supply at fifty cents a box.

Each sale was accompanied by a little lecture on the virtues and merits of the concoction and brief directions as to how it should be taken. The lecture ran something like this: "Now this medicine is very powerful and in order to get the best results it is better to start with

small doses and gradually increase the quantity. It is really best to start with a *very* small dose. The first night it would be just as well if you didn't take any."

#### RATS

The old general store at Redford Center was infested with rats and C—— P——, the proprietor, made every effort to get rid of them. And there are almost as many ways of getting rid of rats as there are of curing a head cold—and we still have them.

One remedy was to catch a few rats alive, singe the hair from their backs and liberate them. In their terror, they were supposed to organize a general exodus from the neighborhood. But when the old store was torn down to make way for the new one, rats were found in vast numbers—and quite a few of the adult ones had naked backs.

#### A SENSIBLE MAN

When someone questioned old Mr. A—— about his habit of talking to himself, he replied that he did this for two reasons: First, he liked to talk to a sensible man and, second, he liked to hear a sensible man talk.

#### POSTAGE STAMPS

In some manner or other Clara P—— had heard or read that there was some little-known hospital or sanatorium which would accept a patient for a fee of one million used postage stamps, without further charge. Clara had a crippled sister and this seemed like a golden opportunity. So she combed the countryside digging trunks full of old letters from dusty attics. At last she accumulated what she claimed to be a million stamps.

Jubilantly she sent them to the address given with a request that preparations be made to receive her sister. There was no catch to it—inasmuch as the hospital was a free institution and would have taken her sister without a single stamp.

But if that collection of stamps was to be placed on the market today the proceeds would be sufficient to purchase the Mayo Clinic or the Henry Ford Hospital outright.



## SALESMANSHIP

Mr. L—— B——, who lived on the Center Road, had a calf for sale and was daily expecting Mr. Wilson, the buyer. But for some reason he found it necessary to make a trip to Detroit before Mr. Wilson arrived.

Henry, the oldest son, was quite a lad, and the father coached the boy in salesmanship in case Mr. Wilson should call during the father's absence.

Of course that is just what happened. When Mr. Wilson asked for Mr. B——, Henry replied that his father had gone to Detroit, but that he had been instructed relative to the disposition of the calf. So when Mr. Wilson asked, "What does your father ask for the calf?" Henry promptly replied: "He would like to get \$10.00, but if you will not give that much, he will sell for \$8.00." So Mr. Wilson said that he could not think of paying more than \$8.00.

## DROWNING OUT WOODCHUCKS

A favorite summer Sunday afternoon pastime in Redford was "drowning out woodchucks." To the city man, the humble ground hog seems like a harmless little animal, but he digs holes in the pastures, which might cause a horse or cow to break a leg. Consequently he was not popular with the farmers.

The first step, of course, was to locate a promising woodchuck burrow. Barrels, washtubs, milk cans, buckets, and containers of all sorts were brought into service, placed near the entrance of the burrow, and filled with water from the nearest well or the river. The success of the project depended largely on three factors: the first, of course, was to make sure that the animal was in the burrow; then there must be plenty of water. Lastly the pouring must be done quickly so as to fill the hole before the water soaked into the ground.

If everything went according to schedule, the woodchuck would come out sputtering.

But carrying water on a hot summer afternoon is no fun and the B—— brothers soon improved on the customary technique. From the neighboring stream they secured a mud turtle, drilled a small hole in the edge of his shell near the rear. A short length of wire was hooked

into this hole, the other end of the wire terminating in a small ball of cotton rags. The rags were saturated with kerosene, the turtle with his accessories carried to the nearest burrow, headed into the opening, and a lighted match applied to the rags. In his efforts to escape from the fire the turtle would proceed apace into the hole, and when the blazing appendage approached the woodchuck, the chuck would make up his mind to vacate—and quickly.

In due time the blaze would die down to a smolder, the turtle would come out for air, whereupon he would be seized and carried triumphantly to the next woodchuck burrow where the whole process would be repeated.

#### PET 'COON

Dr. S——, who lived on the southwest corner of what is now Fenkell Avenue and Telegraph Road at one time, had a pet 'coon. A cunning creature and a very amusing pet. But in the fall when the days grew colder and the season of hibernation approached, the 'coon disappeared. Knowing the habits of 'coons, the doctor thought nothing of it.

However, some weeks later the 'coon was discovered hibernating under the bed in the spare bedroom. In this hide-out he had discovered a box of tallow candles and the box containing Mrs. S——'s best bonnet.

Eating the candles and nesting in the bonnet, the 'coon was living the life of Riley.

#### THE TELEPHONE

C—— A—— P—— kept the general store at Bell Branch. The original store building was on the corner while the family home was some sixty to seventy-five feet in the rear, facing on Telegraph Road. It was sometimes desirable to communicate between the store and the house and this inspired Mr. P—— to install a telephone. At that time the *Youth's Companion* offered as a premium an "acoustic" telephone, consisting of two turned wooden mouthpieces equipped with ferrotype discs, with a length of copper stretched tightly between the two.

M—— H—— H——, whose mechanical genius operated in various directions, volunteered to help C—— A—— P—— with the installa-

tion. The mouthpieces were placed, the wires strung tightly between them and then ensued a period of testing, with one of the men in the house and the other in the store. "Hellos" were passed with increasing volume.

Finally, by shouting at the top of the lungs, a faint "hello" would be heard at the opposite end of the wire. But long ere this, all of the neighbors within a half-mile radius were convinced that the telephone was not an unqualified success.

### GEORGE "QUICKSAND"

There was George "Quicksand" whose vocation was digging wells. His correct surname was Heath, but few knew it and none used it.

George was an expert in his line and his peach tree sprout seldom failed to locate a plentiful supply of water.

Not only was George an expert on wells, but he was the champion plain and fancy long distance tobacco chewer in Redford Township. And of course while he was at work there was no place to dispose of the by-products of his Globe fine cut except right in the well.

George's trusty peach twig didn't fail him on the S—— place and the well produced an abundance of clear, cool water. But such is the power of suggestion that Mrs. S—— always imagined that she could detect the faint flavor of tobacco juice whenever she took a drink.

### THE PEACH TREE SPROUT

It is not our purpose here to take sides for or against those who favor the peach tree sprout as a means of selecting a location for a well. There are many who have faith in this device, and probably fully as many skeptics.

There was a good well on the H—— place, but for some reason another was desired, so George "Quicksand" was called to demonstrate his ability with the peach twig. Whether from skepticism or in a spirit of mischief, Mr. H—— insisted that old George be blindfolded during the test. This made it necessary for Mr. H—— to lead him around the yard in his search for a "vein" of water. This may have irked the old man somewhat, for the demonstration proved a failure. The peach sprout remained upright, no matter where it was carried.

Even when Mr. H—— gently led George to the well which had produced a bountiful supply of water for years, George stoutly maintained "No water here."

#### VARIEGATED ROSES

Few men have gotten more out of life than M—— H——. A keen mind and very versatile, he chose beekeeping as a vocation, claiming that bees were the only domestic creatures that did not require feeding regularly. He was quick to embrace any novelty whether it was flora, fauna, or whatever. Fancy Gladioli, fan-tailed pigeons, and lop-eared rabbits were each the center of interest in turn.

And one day he produced what he termed "variegated roses"; red roses streaked and blotched with white in a most unnatural and peculiar manner.

Many, many years afterward the truth about the variegated roses came out. He had sprinkled the flowers with water, then held them over the fumes of an old white-headed sulphur match. The sulphur fumes had worked the miracle.

#### BARGAINS

J—— L—— had a weakness for answering advertisements in the second-rate periodicals of that day. One such announcement pictured a watch and represented that a "first-class accurate timekeeper" would be sent for the sum of one dollar. And this was before Mr. Ingersoll made the dollar watch popular.

When the package arrived it contained not a watch but a small pocket sundial, truly "an accurate timekeeper."

It was also told that J—— L—— once answered an advertisement offering a house and lot in some distant city for \$10.00. This turned out to be a doghouse and a lot of pups.

#### LAZY?

There was one early resident of Redford Township whom we may better leave unidentified, as the man's neighbors frequently whispered that he was lazy. Whether or not this was the case, he certainly was loud in his denunciation of agriculture as a vocation. But while he

protested vehemently that it was impossible to make a living on a farm, the truth was that he made very little effort in this direction, or any other, for that matter. He spent his summers in idleness bewailing his hard fate and he put in most of the winter with his stockinged feet in the oven of the kitchen stove.

His buildings were dilapidated, his farm equipment poor and uncared for. His emaciated stock overran the premises as none of his fields were properly fenced. It was far easier to burn fence rails than to go to the wood lot and cut the winter's fuel. But although the rails were dry and burned nicely, they were much too long to be handled conveniently; so he finally hit upon the expedient of opening the stove door, inserting one end of the rail, the other end resting on a kitchen chair. As the rail burned shorter, the chair was moved closer and closer to the stove.

In spite of his complaints, possibly he would not have been any more successful in any other line of endeavor.

#### MICHIGAN CLIMATE

Mr. H——, whose farm was located on the Beech Road, moved to Redford from California. When asked what he thought of our Michigan climate, he replied that he didn't think much of a climate that was "nine months winter and three months damned late in the fall."

#### PIE-EYED HOGS

E—— S——, whose farm was located on the southeast corner of Beech Road and Waterford Road (now McNichols), one year raised considerable sorghum sugar cane. He took it to Becker's mill on the Schoolcraft Road to have the juice extracted and Mr. Becker suggested that the cane fiber might make good hog feed. So Mr. S—— barreled the pulp and brought it back home. And it did make good feed, it was sweet and the hogs liked it.

But the weather was warm and in due time the pulp commenced to ferment. One morning son Charles, doing the chores, returned to the house in a panic: "Dad, what is the matter with the hogs?" And, truth to tell, every pig was stinking drunk—plastered, shellacked, cockeyed, or whatever you may wish to call it.

Some had laughing jags, some crying jags, some just pleasantly jingled, while others were in that advanced state of inebriation which, in the case of humans, puts the victim under the table.

#### THE RETORT COURTEOUS

One evening, on his return from Detroit, W—— H—— had some small errand to transact with his neighbor, P—— M——. He arrived at the M—— home just about the hour of the evening meal and, of course, was invited to "Tie your horse, Will, and come in to supper."

At first he demurred, but being pressed and remembering that Mrs. M—— was a particularly good cook, he finally reluctantly consented.

The meal was all that could be desired, but Mrs. M——, after the manner of Redford matrons, made the customary apologies: "Will, if we had known that you were going to be with us, we would have had thus and so."

To set his hostess at ease Will replied: "Oh, this is all right, what there is of it." And thinking that this did not sound just exactly right, he added: "And there is enough of it, such as it is."<sup>1</sup>

#### THE HOOP SNAKE

Mr. E——'s favorite story was the one about the hoop snake, that remarkable reptile whose method of locomotion consists of forming itself into a letter O by taking the tip of its tail in its mouth, then rolling like a hoop in whichever direction it wishes to travel. As this was before the days of pneumatic tires, Mr. E—— neglected to say whether or not the snake inflated itself for smoother traction.

According to Mr. E——, the bite of the hoop snake was very poisonous and he told of a narrow escape he had. While hoeing corn he glanced up to see a hoop snake rolling swiftly toward him. There was no opportunity to run, barely time for him to drop the hoe and dodge into the next corn row. He escaped, but the angered snake struck the hoe handle and the venom was so powerful that within twenty minutes the hoe handle had swelled to the size of a stove pipe—believe it or not.

<sup>1</sup>I heard this same anecdote from a colleague of mine raised in New York.  
R.M.D.



## RUBE GOLDSTEIN

One of the outstanding citizens of Greenfield Township was sort of an amateur inventive genius and bore the nickname of "Scientific." While he did not rank with Edison or Westinghouse, he had quite a local reputation for contriving trick gadgets of a labor-saving nature.

Farm life in those days in the winter time meant rising hours before daylight in a temperature possibly below zero, lighting the kerosene lamp, and trying to coax some heat out of the old wood-burning stove. Mr. M—— brought his ingenious mind to bear on the problem and it is said that he created a device by means of which a match would be struck, the stove door opened, the light applied to the kindling inside (the materials for the fire having been laid in the stove the night before), the stove door closed again, and the draft adjusted—all by pulling a string, which by a system of small pulleys, had been brought conveniently close to the bed.

He proposed later to perfect a contrivance which, by pulling another string, would remove the glass chimney from the kerosene lamp, strike a light, apply it to the wick, and replace the chimney. It is not recorded whether or not he succeeded in this latter project.

A combination of the two inventions would certainly have done much to alleviate the terrors of farm life in the winter.

The second annual meeting of the seminars in American culture was held at Cooperstown, New York, the home of the New York State Historical Association and its museums, July 5-15, 1949. These seminars represent an interesting experiment in the teaching and discussion of grass roots history in which a number of specialists in state and local history, folk art and folklore, museums and historical sites, historical novels, and juvenile fiction, participate in an informal manner. About one hundred and fifty students attended, including a good many high school teachers. The success of these seminars in stirring interest in the traditional culture of New York state can well serve as a model to other states.

The seminar on American folklore, where I spent most of the time, was featured by the singing of Frank Warner, who deserves to be as well-known as Burl Ives; New York state's outstanding folklore authority, Harold W. Thompson, who gives a very popular course

in American folk literature at Cornell University; Wayland Hand, editor of the *Journal of American Folklore*; and Duncan Emrich, chief of the folklore section of the Library of Congress, whose book on western folk traditions will appear in the fall.

To Dr. Louis C. Jones, director of the association and a special student of American superstitions, goes the chief credit and congratulations for the achievement of the seminars.

An American folklore for youth conference was organized at Ball State Teachers College, Muncie, Indiana, at a meeting held June 29-July 1, 1949. A number of folklorists, children's authors, librarians, and school teachers attended the conference, which was marked by vehement discussions as to the means of using folk material in the grade schools. The academic folklorists, represented by Herbert Halpert, Alfred W. Shoemaker, and myself, maintained that liberties cannot be taken with folklore without basically changing its nature. Some of the authors present felt that a writer can legitimately use creative imagination in presenting folk tales. I attacked this view as strongly as possible arguing that the present tendency in the popular presentation of "folklore" is to rob the material of all its flavor and bite, as well as to misinform the public, since these desk folklorists do no collecting on their own.

A middle point of view was held by Moritz Jagendorf, New York City, the new president of the conference, who does a good deal of arduous collecting for his books and indicates the sources of his stories. Next year the conference will meet at Frostburg State Teachers College, Maryland, at the invitation of Dr. Dorothy Howard, the new vice-president and an authority on children's rhymes and games. A good deal of interest seems to have been aroused by the conference. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* for July 18, devoted a long feature article to the meeting and its controversies.

Michigan State College

RICHARD M. DORSON

## Michigan News

AN UPSURGE OF HISTORICAL INTEREST at Sault Ste Marie was much in evidence in July when the Michigan Historical Commission held one of its meetings there. Present at this meeting of the commission were: Mrs. Donald E. Adams, Mr. Prentiss M. Brown, Mr. Chester W. Ellison, Dr. James O. Knauss, and Dr. Lewis Beeson. Prior to the meeting of the commission on the afternoon of July 16, 1949, the Historical Commission had luncheon with members of the Soo Centennial Planning Commission. In addition to Mr. Brown and Dr. Beeson who were members of the planning commission other members of that commission present were Mr. George Osborn, president; Mr. Carl G. Sedan, secretary; Mr. Russell J. Boyle; Mr. Victor A. Knox; Mr. Gene Alleman; and Mr. Charles F. Platz. Members of the two commissions enjoyed a pleasant trip on the lakes and back as the guests of Mr. Osborn.

Evidence of historical activity at Sault Ste Marie was furnished by the progress already made in restoring the John Johnston residence. The property on which this historic structure rests has been given to the city of Sault Ste Marie by the Great Lakes Towing Company. An appropriation of \$4,500 has been made by the city for the restoration of the Johnston residence. The residence has been lifted from its rotted foundations so that excavation of the site and rehabilitation of the foundations could be made. Particularly interested in the restoration of the John Johnston house is Mr. Fred Rodiger, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the Chippewa Historical Society. It is largely through Mr. Rodiger's efforts that progress on the restoration of the house has progressed so far.

Mr. Stanley Newton, formerly secretary-treasurer of the Chippewa Historical Society, has been instrumental in planning for a marker commemorating Sault Ste Marie as the gateway to the great Northwest. The marker will be erected in Lower Lock Park.

The Chippewa Historical Society was reorganized Sunday morning, July 17, 1949, on Little Duck Island, the residence of former governor, Chase S. Osborn. Among those present at the formalities were Mr. Robert Brown and Mr. Stanley Newton, president and secretary of the society; Mrs. Chase S. Osborn; Mr. and Mrs. Donald E. Adams;

Dr. James O. Knauss; Mr. Chester W. Ellison; Dr. Lewis Beeson; and Mr. Paul Adams and Mr. Fred Rodiger, who were elected new president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the society. Mr. Rodiger reported that one hundred and eighty persons had paid their dues in the society.

ON GOVERNOR'S DAY AT THE STATE FAIR, September 7, 1949, Governor G. Mennen Williams turned the French *Merci* boxcar over to the Grand Voiture of the Michigan 40 and 8 for exhibition throughout the state. Attending the ceremony at the State Fairgrounds in Detroit were Mr. Donat A. Gauthier, French consul at Detroit; Governor G. Mennen Williams; his executive assistant, Mr. Lawrence L. Farrell; Mr. Chester W. Ellison, a member of the Michigan Historical Commission; Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Historical Commission; Mr. C. J. Sherman, director of the Historical Museum in Lansing; Mr. Charles Figy, director of agriculture; Mr. James Friel, manager of the State Fair; and representing the 40 and 8 organization were Messrs. Carleton L. Seaman, grand chef de gare; Joseph Heath, chairman of the *Merci* boxcar committee; Karl S. Warner; Andrew Stark; Thomas F. Harrison; Harold Riley; and Emanuel Christensen, vice-commander of the American Legion, Department of Michigan.

Under an agreement entered into by a committee of state officials headed by Dr. Beeson the Grand Voiture of the 40 and 8 have agreed to make the French *Merci* boxcar available to Michigan communities who officially request that it be exhibited on the understanding that the community requesting the boxcar may be requested to pay the reasonable cost of transportation and furnish adequate protection while the boxcar is on exhibition.

Since its arrival in Michigan January, 1949, the boxcar has been carefully repaired and equipped with display cases and lighting by the committee appointed by the governor. This committee consists of Dr. Lewis Beeson, chairman; Mr. Charles Figy; Mrs. Loleta Fyan; Mr. Earnest C. Brooks; and Mr. Norman E. Borgerson. The Michigan 40 and 8 furnished the truck trailer assembly on which the boxcar is transported.

Material in the boxcar was carefully inventoried by a committee consisting of Mr. C. J. Sherman; Mr. Henry D. Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Museum; Miss Margaret Brayton, director of the

Children's Museum, Detroit; Mr. Alexis A. Praus, director of the Kalamazoo Public Museum; and Mr. Frank L. DuMond, director of the Grand Rapids Museum.

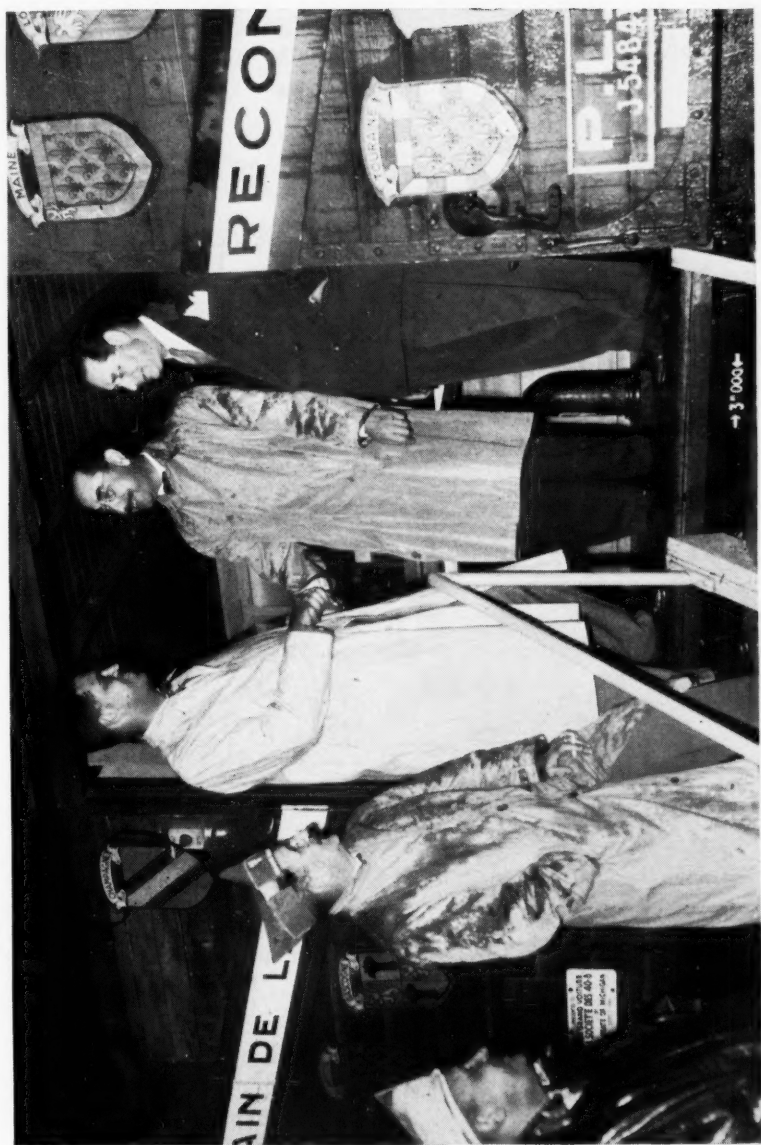
Gifts which were suitable for exhibition in the car were selected and placed on display for the first time at the State Fair. Other gifts which lent themselves to a traveling exhibit were selected and are available for exhibition in museums and elsewhere throughout the state. The first display of the traveling exhibit was at Kalamazoo where the Kalamazoo Public Museum had it for its feature exhibit during the month of June. Following the Kalamazoo showing the traveling exhibit was on display at Grand Rapids. The same material was shown at the Upper Peninsula State Fair at Escanaba, August 16 to 21. At the Upper Peninsula State Fair 40,000 people saw the exhibit.

The *Merci* boxcar exhibit itself at the State Fair attracted an unusual amount of interest. Crowds were lined up continuously to see the display within the boxcar. Since its showing at the fair the boxcar has been on display elsewhere in Detroit and was exhibited in Lansing, October 28 and 29, in connection with the seventy-fifth annual meeting of the Historical Society of Michigan.

APPROXIMATELY FIFTY PEOPLE were in attendance at the third annual conference of the committee on education and publication of the Historical Society of Michigan. The conference was held at St. Mary's Lake Camp near Battle Creek, July 8 to 10. This conference was notable for its accomplishments.

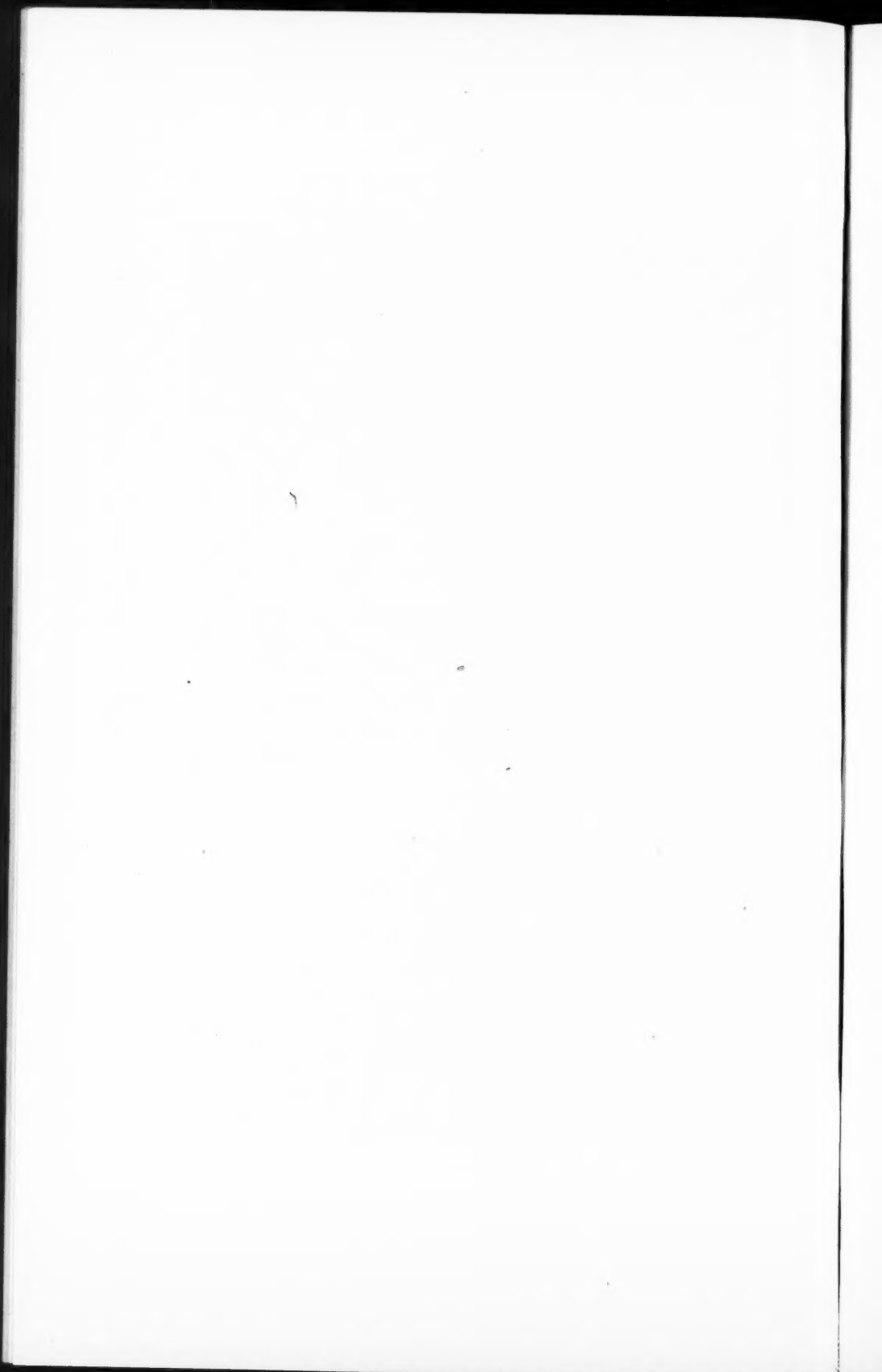
During the conference a committee headed by Mr. Karl Zeisler of the *Monroe Evening News* whipped into shape a manual on "How to Write Local History." The manual is directed primarily to people in the smaller communities of the state and advocates that they set up a community committee in writing and publishing a local history. The handbook has been published in mimeographed form by the Michigan Historical Commission and is available upon request to its office in Lansing. Much of the success of this committee was due to Mr. Zeisler who came to the conference with a well-thought-out draft for the handbook.

Advance planning on the part of Mr. Henry Brown, director of the Detroit Historical Society, enabled another committee, chairmaned by Mr. Brown, to produce a second handbook. "What a Local Historical



GOVERNOR THANKS FRENCH CONSUL FOR MICHIGAN BOXCAR  
L. R. CARLETON SEAMON, EMANUEL CHRISTENSEN, GOV. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS  
DONAT GAUTHIER, JAMES FRIEL





Society Should Do" is the subject of this manual which also has been published in mimeographed form by the Historical Commission and is available for distribution. Like the manual on "How to Write Local History," "What a Local Historical Society Should Do" is intended for use primarily by the untrained amateur historian and other citizens of a community who may wish to establish a local historical society and formulate a program for it or write a history of the community.

Two other committees, one headed by Mr. Robert Koopman, associate superintendent of the department of public instruction, and the other by Dr. Madison Kuhn, associate professor of history at Michigan State College, accomplished much along different lines. The task of their two committees was to define policy and lay out plans for future accomplishment. Earlier in 1949 the department of public instruction and the Michigan Historical Commission had come to an understanding upon a mutual agreeable plan of accomplishment regarding the approach to be made in the teaching about Michigan. Both departments were agreed that it was desirable to set up some project which would bring about more study of Michigan history, current conditions, and future problems. In effectuating this policy the department of public instruction is to stress methods about the teaching activity such as source units about Michigan prepared for different grade levels, while anything having to do with content such as the history of Michigan or its subdivisions should be within the province of the Michigan Historical Commission. Other departments of the state government should furnish content material dealing with current conditions and future problems in such fields as conservation, agriculture, economics, and the like. At St. Mary's Camp Mr. Koopman's committee dealt with plans of the department of public instruction for a Michigan project in the schools.

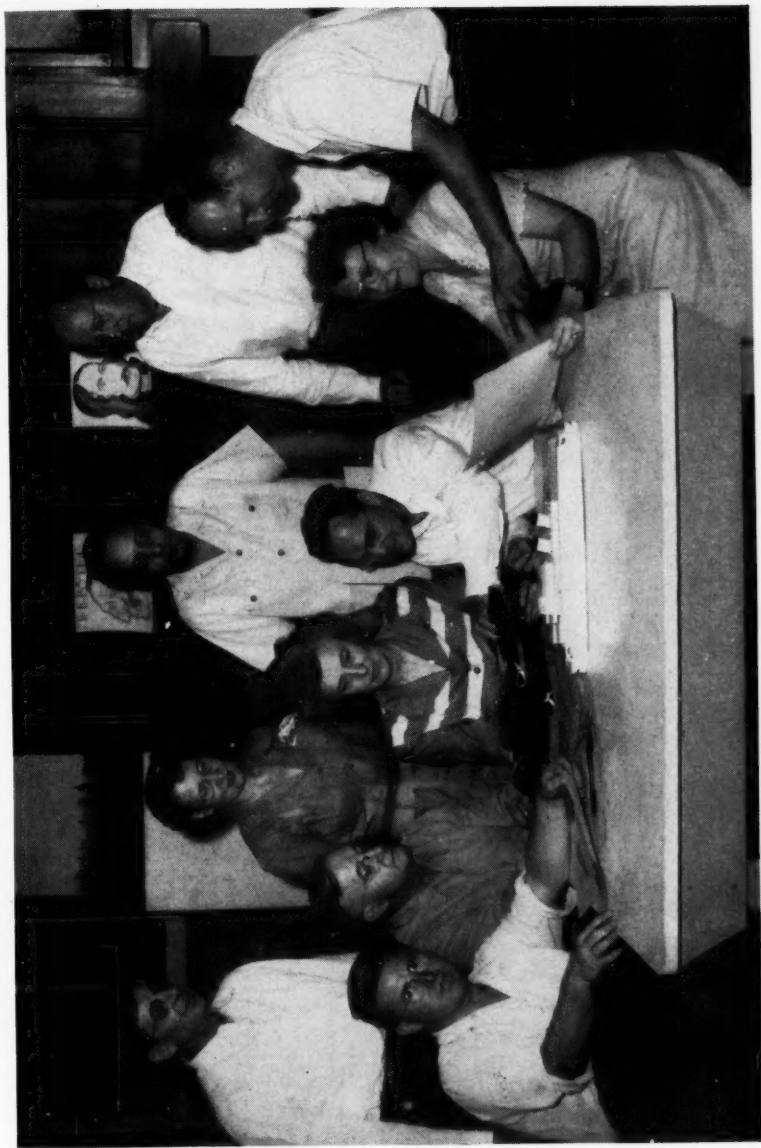
Dr. Kuhn's committee considered problems of content in the teaching of Michigan material. It reported that Michigan history should be integrated with the teaching of American history and presented detailed suggestions how that integration might be accomplished. At a closing session Sunday morning July 10 the reports of the four committees were presented to the persons in attendance and adopted. The conference closed with an address, "Looking into the Future," by Dr. Lewis Beeson.

In addition to the four working groups the conference had on display an impressive number of Michigan history projects which had been carried on in the schools of the state during the school year 1948-49. The exhibits were assembled by Mrs. Ellen C. Hathaway who spent much time and effort in encouraging other teachers to introduce Michigan history into their classrooms. A committee of evaluation<sup>1</sup> selected as most worthy the Bloomfield Hills School and awarded it first place. Detroit's Campau School was awarded second place. Third place awards went to Durfee Intermediate, Detroit and Hosner Rural School, Oakland County. Honorable mention ribbons were presented to the schools of Swartz Creek and Monroe; Ionia Junior High School; Rose Corners Rural, Oakland County; and Post Intermediate, Detroit.

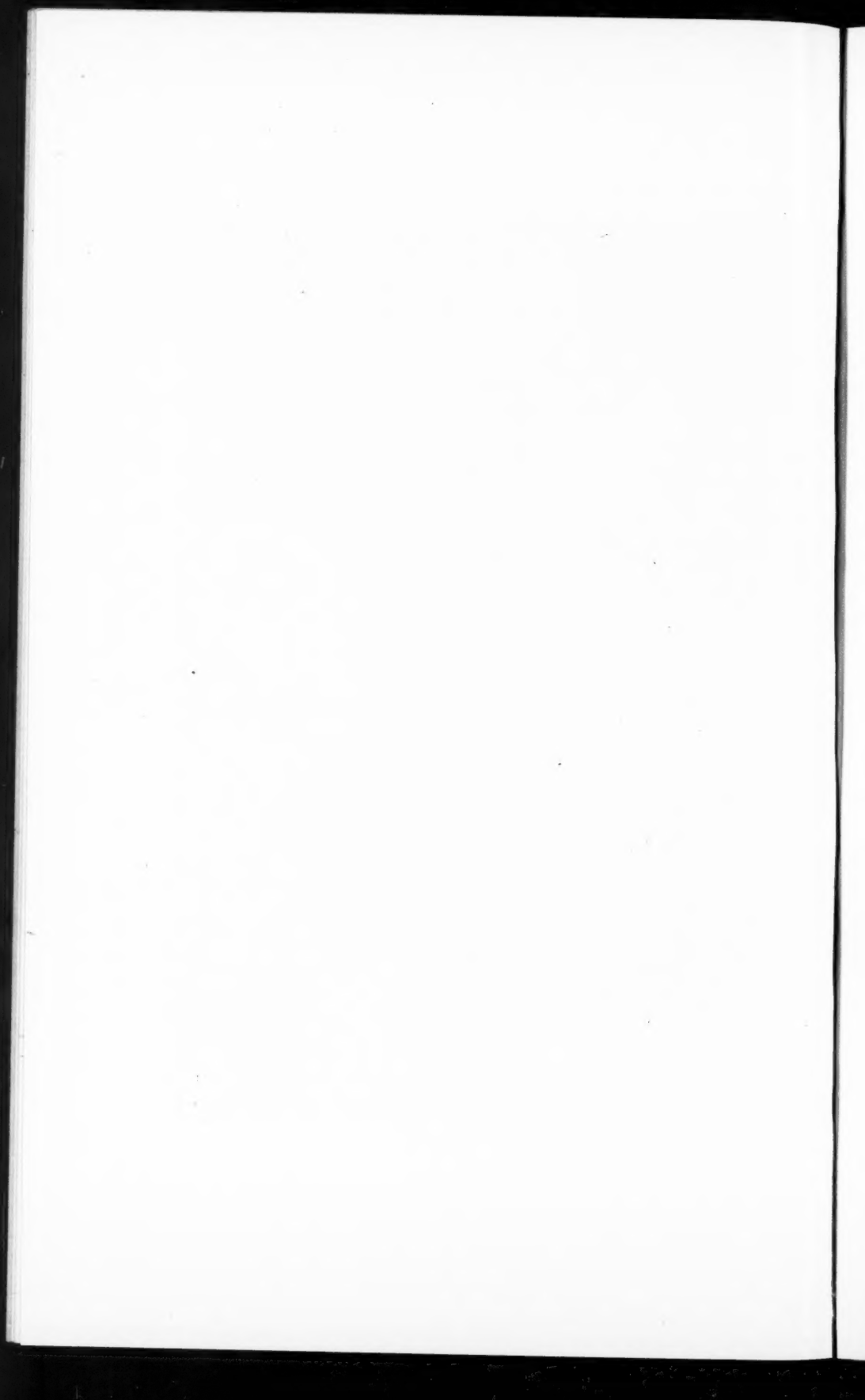
Following the conference the illustrated map committee of the Historical Society met with Mr. Frank Barcus of Detroit, the artist, and went over his preliminary drawings for the map. The committee was highly gratified with the preliminary design of the map.

DECEMBER 1 WAS A RED LETTER DAY for the Historical Society of Michigan. It was the publication date for *Northwood Sketches* by Chase S. Osborn and *White Pine Days on the Taquamenon* by William D. Hulbert. They are the first books published under the sponsorship of the Society. *Northwood Sketches*, the last book to be written by Chase S. Osborn, is a collection of tales of the governor's experiences from youth to maturity in the northern wilderness of the Upper Peninsula. A number of them were published originally in the *Detroit Free Press*. They reflect well the governor's love of the outdoors, his concern for conservation, and the life in the woods experienced by him during his long career as timberman and iron ore explorer. The family of William D. Hulbert have, in his memory, arranged for the publication of *White Pine Days on the Taquamenon*. Mr. Hulbert was one of Michigan's foremost nature writers. His book tells the stories of the "Naturalist and the Landlooker," "With the Taquamenon Drive," "On the Brink of the Falls," "Jeanie MacDougall," and "The Story of a Pine Tree." The list price for both books is \$2.50. Members of the Historical Society of Michigan may receive

<sup>1</sup>Illustration identified. Seated: Robert Wahl, James Knauss, Ellen Hathaway, Rolland Maybee, Rosalynn Chapel. Standing: Lewis Beeson, Kathryn Cummins, Thomas Dancey, Madison Kuhn, Richard Wysong.



COMMITTEE JUDGES MICHIGAN HISTORY PROJECTS



their copy at a special discount price of only \$2.00. Book dealers will receive the usual trade discount. Place your orders as soon as possible for these interesting books. Requests will be mailed out from the office of the Historical Society of Michigan, Lansing 13. Checks should be made payable to the society.

ON SEPTEMBER 10 A MUSEUM OF GREAT LAKES HISTORY was formally opened and a ceremony of dedication and thanks to the donors from the Detroit Historical Commission took place on board the *J. T. Wing*. The *J. T. Wing* is the last of the sailing ships to participate in the business and romance of Great Lakes transportation. After being practically abandoned the ship was offered to Detroit in 1946 by its owners Mr. Grant Piggott and Mr. Joseph Braun. A committee of the Detroit Historical Society headed by Mr. Prentiss M. Brown undertook to raise the funds with which to repair and recondition the ship and to transform it into a museum of Great Lakes history. The story is an excellent and worthwhile exhibit.

The *Wing* has a one hundred and sixty foot deck and masts which tower one hundred and ten feet. Between its decks in the hold of the three hundred and ten ton ship is a large exhibit area where models and equipment of ships and shipping on the Great Lakes are shown. Captain Joseph E. Johnson is in charge of the ship and its exhibits.

Participating in the dedication of the anniversary of the Battle of Lake Erie were: Mr. W. A. Markland, secretary of the *J. T. Wing* committee, representing Mr. Prentiss M. Brown, its chairman; Mr. George W. Stark, president of the Detroit Historical Commission; Mr. George Edwards, president of the city council; Mr. Thomas Leadbetter, city clerk; Mr. Thomas Dancey, president of the Historical Society of Michigan; Mr. James J. Hurley, Canadian consul; Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission; Dr. Alfred H. Whittaker, president of the Detroit Historical Society; Father Edward J. Dowling, S.J., president of the Marine Historical Society; Mr. Joseph Braun; and Mr. H. J. Turner.

SEA MEN WHO LOVED HER have finally been forced to give up the fight for the preservation of the U.S.S. *Michigan*. In the summer of 1948 Detroiters were informed that the *Michigan* was scheduled to be taken from the docks at Erie, Pennsylvania; and scrapped for junk.



A committee was immediately formed in Detroit, with Captain Leon J. Jacobi as chairman, to raise \$75,000 to save the ship. The U.S.S. *Michigan*, launched in 1843, was the oldest iron vessel in existence. She played a vital role in the development of Michigan and the Great Lakes. A valiant effort was made by the committee to raise the funds but contributions fell short of this figure and in June the old ship, neglected but proud, was towed to the scrapping grounds at Erie.

A PLAQUE IN HONOR OF CHASE S. OSBORN and his pioneer physician parents was erected June 28, 1949, in Huntington, Indiana, at the junction of state highways 105 and 124. This was the location of the log cabin in which Chase S. Osborn was born January 22, 1860, to Margaret Ann and George Osborn, both pioneer physicians in Huntington County.

Governor G. Mennen Williams and Governor Henry F. Schricker of Indiana paid tribute to the Osborns at the dedication ceremonies. Mrs. Chase S. Osborn, widow of the governor, told friends assembled of the simple faith by which the governor was guided throughout his life. Mr. Luke Scheer whose historical interests had helped to bring about the erection of the Osborn plaque said in his remarks that it was fitting that the governors of both Michigan and Indiana should join in honoring this man who was so great a contributor to the historical heritage of both states.

THE CHARLES MEARS BRIDGE, named in honor of the pioneer lumberman, was formerly opened to public travel August 25, 1949. The bridge spans the Pentwater River two miles south of Pentwater on U.S. 31. Mears' daughter, Miss Carrie E. Mears, donated to the state the site on which the bridge and part of the roadway is located. Officials of the state and county highway departments were present at the ceremonies opening the bridge.

THE TRAVELING EXHIBIT OF GIFTS from the French *Merci* boxcar was taken by Mr. C. J. Sherman, director of the Michigan Historical Museum, to Escanaba for the Upper Peninsula State Fair, August 16 to 21. The exhibit was arranged for by the Delta County Historical Society. They secured space for the exhibit in the exhibition building on the fairgrounds. This was the first showing of the French gifts on the Upper Peninsula.

Comments of the 40,000 people seeing the exhibit were interesting: "I wondered what had happened to the boxcar. I was in Lansing when it arrived." "I'm glad that I saw your sign out front and came in." "This is something to see. They're beautiful!" "Would I like to have those pins." "Look how pretty the faces on the little dolls are."

Mr. Ernest Tibergien, stopping to look at the portrait of General Foch, said "Why, isn't that a coincidence." Mr. Tibergien went on to explain. "The donor's card here below the portrait says 'Mons. Alfred Creinaud, 22 Rue Lemercier, Paris.' Twenty-six years ago I lived next door at 28 Rue Lemercier. At the end of World War I came to the United States." Mr. Tibergien's home is in Gladstone where he is employed as an engineer for the Marble Arms Company. After her husband's discovery Mrs. Tibergien copied down the names and addresses of other donors and said that she wanted to write and let them know that she and Mr. Tibergien had seen and appreciated their gifts.

IN THE SAME EXHIBIT SPACE the Delta County Historical Society had an exhibit depicting a typical pioneer kitchen of the 1850's. This attractive exhibit appealed to young and old alike. Said one young sprout, tugging at her mother's arm, "Mommy, did you cook in a kitchen like that?" "Honey, I'm not that old." Each item in the kitchen display received special comment: "Yes, you tied them in those high chairs." "Oh, my goodness, look at the old woodbox and the wooden bucket." "What's that in the corner, a corn popper, maybe a bellows to start the fire?" (The object in question was a bed warmer.) "I've got a muzzle-loader that's older than that one I'll bet. Only I haven't got the powder horn." "What did they put in the jugs?" "I threw a teakettle like that away a couple of years ago." The Delta County Society was enthusiastic because of the tremendous interest shown in their exhibit. They have already begun to plan for their exhibit next year. They plan to use a living room display for the 1950 fair.

During the summer the society held two informal get-togethers. On July 10 they met at Ford River in conjunction with Ford River's homecoming. Ford River, once a lumber town, is now a resort area. Over three hundred people gathered at the local picnic grounds. On August 7 they held a picnic at Stonington. The federal government

has allowed the local grange and the historical society to recondition the old lighthouse on the Stonington point and keep it in repair. The grounds of the lighthouse have been made into a picnic area. At this meeting a paper was read by the daughter of the last lighthouse keeper. She compiled the paper from the records of the lighthouse.

MR. DAVID BOTSFORD WAS HOST to members of the Marine Historical Society of Detroit when the group met at the Fort Malden Museum, Amherstburg, June 4, 1949. Mr. Don Heath spoke on "The History of the Detroit River Mail Boats." Officers for the year 1949-50 elected at this meeting were: president, the Rev. Edward J. Dowling, S. J.; vice president, Jack Miller; secretary, Robert A. Zeleznik; and treasurer, Kenneth E. Smith.

The Marine Society held two informal meetings during the summer: the first at Bob Lo Island Park, July 24, and the second on board the *Put In Bay*, August 28.

The opening 1949-50 meeting of the society was held in the Fort Malden Museum, Amherstburg, on Saturday afternoon and evening, September 10. Approximately one hundred people enjoyed the afternoon and evening amid the pleasant surroundings of Fort Malden. Speaker of the evening was Mr. George W. Stark, author of the "Town Talk" column in the *Detroit News*, historiographer, and member of the board of trustees of the Historical Society of Michigan. Mr. Stark retold amusing and interesting recollections of his boyhood in Detroit.

MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE's radio station WKAR has resumed its popular series of fifteen minute shows, "Men of Michigan." The series features men of prominence of today and yesterday. The first program October 13, 1949, was built around the career of Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac. This weekly program can be heard on Thursdays at 4:15 p.m. Mr. Kenneth Richards writes the scripts.

A NEW RADIO SERIES, "Treasures Off the Shelf," originating in the studios of the University of Michigan's station WUOM, began the second week of October. The series is using a specific historical document or manuscript as the basis for each of its thirteen programs. The documents to be featured will come from the William L. Clements Library. These programs focus attention on the documents rather

than upon the information they contain. One program will feature the code letter written by General Benedict Arnold in which he offers to sell West Point to the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Clinton. Another program will center around Columbus' report to Ferdinand and Isabella, and another around an estray book picked up on the battlefield at Saratoga in 1777. Each document used will be exhibited in the Clements Library the week following the broadcast. In addition to station WUOM the series will be heard over twelve other stations throughout the state.

RECOGNIZING THE NEED to acquaint the citizens of Michigan with their powerful and varied industries, the Department of Economic Development this summer released a series of six public service transcriptions entitled "This Is Michigan." The series, written by Miss Nancy Black, presented dramatized stories of representative automotive, business machine, food processing, agricultural, and paper industries. It included a broadcast on the department's community industrial survey program. This program encourages the introduction of new industries into the state and works to attract industries to some of the dead communities within the state. Radio stations in Detroit, East Lansing, Battle Creek, Flint, Grand Rapids, Sault Ste Marie, Marquette, Ludington, Alpena, Traverse City, Cadillac, Benton Harbor, Escanaba, Petoskey, and Kalamazoo carried the series. Each script was informative and packed with interesting facts and personalities. Economic Development has had many requests from school groups and libraries throughout the state for copies of the scripts. Transcription platters of the series are available for loan to groups interested in using them.

THE NAMES OF TWO MICHIGAN MEN, Birt Darling of Lansing and Karl Zeisler of Monroe, will appear in the fall 1949 listing of books to be published by Stratford House in their American Heritage Series. Books in this series are popular histories by local authors.

Pre-publication advertising of Mr. Darling's Lansing history, *City in the Forest*, describes it as "a fascinating narrative of the birth and development of a great city in which has been included graphic personality sketches and descriptions of the men and women who founded the town, built it into a good-sized city, and then helped make it into the nationally-famous industrial center Lansing is today.

Governors, inventors, hotel keepers, factory production men, even a Chinese prince living in Lansing in disguise are portrayed in his book with the fascinating swift-moving style of a master novelist."

Stratford House's method in handling this series is to obtain advance subscriptions and the backing of the Chamber of Commerce, the Rotary Club, and the newspaper before undertaking to publish the history of a city. This method gives them enough advance orders so that the cost of publishing is paid. Their objective is to sell a book within the community. In order to make this history popular they select someone whose name is known in the community and use that name in selling the book. The person selected is given a free-hand in his writing. Their aim is a popular account of the community. Professional historians are avoided. There is no set pattern for the history. Stratford House works from a chapter outline submitted by the author. After copy is in they work with the author so as to come out with a book of approximately sixty to eighty thousand words. They publish an edition of three thousand copies at an approximate cost of \$5,000.

In Grand Rapids, Mr. Frank M. Sparks, former editor and publisher of the Grand Rapids *Herald*, is at work on a history of Grand Rapids as another addition to the series. In Saginaw Mr. Vincent Weadlock, a former regent of the University of Michigan, is at work collecting material for a Saginaw history. Copy for the Saginaw book will be written by Mr. John Schuch.

"SOMETHING HAS HAPPENED SINCE 1888 IN MICHIGAN. The plans and provisions of the pioneers, such as Editor Edward D. Ellis, who helped write the common school provisions and the financing of libraries into Michigan's first constitution have failed. Today the people have let the common schools down, and many of them are understaffed, underequipped and inadequate. Michigan has a waiting list of thousands to enter its mental hospitals, which once were at the very forefront of intelligent treatment and have now gone for several years without a competent directing head and are way behind the practices in neighboring states. The great university, agricultural college and normal school [which in 1888 Talcott E. Wing, first historian of Monroe County and president of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society, described as being surpassed by no other state

and copied by many] were very nearly cut off from any funds by the present legislature and in the end were parcelled out appropriations far below the minimum amount needed for the maintenance of their standards. Even the present Michigan Historical Commission is starving for funds and unable to do an adequate job whereas in 1888 President Wing had nothing but praise for the legislature for its generous support of historical undertakings."

Such is the conclusion of Mr. Karl Zeisler in his weekly column, "The Observer," in the *Monroe Evening News* for July 23, 1949. Mr. Zeisler wonders "Why it is that 60 years ago Michigan, blessed by the attraction it held for intelligent and worthy New Englanders and New Yorkers, achieved its remarkable position of leadership, only to lose it two generations later? Didn't the education those pioneers provided achieve its purpose, or has the immigration since offset the training Michigan citizens received from their fine institutions, and the care the poor and handicapped got from their pioneering facilities?"

THE WILLIAM L. CLEMENTS LIBRARY published a small booklet, *Unique Canadiana*, July, 1949. The booklet describes fifteen unique Canadian documents found in the library. The library arranged an exhibition of these documents in cooperation with a summer session workshop, Canada-United States Workshop, sponsored by the school of education and the college of literature, science, and the arts. A late summer publication of the library was an attractive booklet, *Rare Botanical Books*, which carries a listing and description of fifty-five rare books from the botanical library of Mrs. Roy Arthur Hunt. The books were loaned to Clements for an exhibition in honor of the Botanical Society of America at their summer meeting in Ann Arbor, August, 1949.

MR. LUKE SCHEER'S PICTORIAL HISTORY of Michigan is being carried as a special feature in the *Lansing State Journal*. The series began with the Sunday issue, October 2. The art work is being done by Mr. George Scarbo. This series is also being carried by the *Wyandotte Tribune*.

A NEW TWELVE PAGE PAMPHLET, "Michigan: Two Powerful Peninsulas," designed to answer the questions we hear most often, was



published late this summer by the Department of Economic Development. It is available upon request to their office in Lansing.

THE FIRST FOUR AND A HALF PAGES of Newell Collins' *Totem Pole* for July, 1949, is devoted to an interesting account of the Cass River, which, with its branches and tributaries, drains most of the Thumb area of Michigan.

"DO YOU PULL DOWN THE 'BLINDS,' the 'shades,' or the 'curtains' when it gets dark?" "Do you fry your eggs in a 'spider,' in a 'skillet,' or in a 'frying pan'?" Dr. Hans Kurath explains that it depends upon the region in which you live. These are all common words for the same article in different parts of the country. Dr. Kurath's article, "What Do You Call It?" appeared in the *Michigan Alumnus* for June 30, 1949. In the same issue Herbert G. Watkins and James Shearer II share with the readers their "Memories of a Michigan Town." Their reminiscences are of Bay City and the life they remember in the early 1900's.

JUST OFF THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS is John A. Garraty's *Silas Wright*. Wright is a little-known yet instrumental figure in the politics of a century ago. He was Democratic floor leader of the Senate during Jackson's administration and a close adviser of Martin Van Buren. The author is an assistant professor of history at Michigan State College.

## News and Comment

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES, including the division of the Federal Register and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, and its function and personnel were transferred to the General Services Administration by Public Law 152, approved June 30, 1949, which created the administration. Jess Larson, former war assets administrator and most recently Federal Works administrator, heads the new agency.

In establishing the administration, Congress declared that its intent was to provide for the government an economical and efficient system for the procurement and supply of personal property and nonpersonal services, the utilization of available property, the disposal of surplus property, and the management of federal records, activities that are common to all government agencies. The creation of such a general services agency was in line with recommendations of the commission on organization of the executive branch of the government, better known as the Hoover Commission.

In the field of records management, the administrator was authorized to make surveys of government records and records management and disposal practices and to obtain reports thereon from federal agencies; to promote, in cooperation with the executive agencies, improved records management practices and controls in such agencies, including the central storage or disposition of records not needed by them for their current use; and to report to Congress and the director of the bureau of the budget from time to time the results of such activities. The records of the Hoover Commission, 1947-49, have been turned over to the National Archives.

THE OHIO ANTHONY WAYNE PARKWAY BOARD has issued their annual report for the year 1948. Its thirty-five page report gives the background of the project, a resumé of the meetings of the board, and a detailed description of the proposed route of the memorial parkway. Although Michigan has not as yet set up an official Anthony Wayne Parkway Committee, several groups in the state have been actively interested in seeing Michigan play a part in this development. Dr. Lewis Beeson, secretary of the Michigan Historical Commission, has expressed to the Ohio Parkway Board the commission's interest in the project. Although Wayne traveled by water from the Maumee to Detroit, it is hoped that a way will be found to suitably memorialize the general through the designation of the land route from Toledo to Detroit as the Anthony Wayne Memorial Parkway.

THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR STATE AND LOCAL HISTORY held its annual meeting in Burlington, Vermont, September 12 to 14. Headquarters was Oakledge Manor on the shore of Lake Champlain. Meet-

ings were held aboard the *Ticonderoga*, the last of the famous Lake Champlain sidewheelers. Visits to Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point were included in the three-day program.

RADIO STATION CKLW, WINDSOR, carried a series of sketches on Essex County from May 26 to August 11. The series was sponsored by the Essex County Tourist Association. This was the eleventh year the Essex County Tourist Association has sponsored such a series in cooperation with station CKLW. The individual broadcasts were varied. They included such topics as: "A Tour of Essex County," "Point Pelee, Past and Present," "Highways and Travel in Pioneer Times," "Essex County, A Century Ago." Reprints of any of the broadcasts are available upon request from the Essex County Tourist Association, 1007 Canada Building, Windsor.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS IN ITS REPORT on accessions in *The American Historical Review* for July lists the papers of the late General "Billy" Mitchell of Detroit. Mitchell was commander of United States aviation in France in World War I, and later director of military aviation in the United States Army. The papers include his personal files as assistant chief of the air service, his diaries during World War I, and manuscripts of some of his writings. They were the gift of members of his family to the Library of Congress.

THE SELECTIONS OF THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB from July through November are the stories of five outstanding contributors to our historical heritage. These selections were: David C. Mearns' *The Lincoln Papers*, with an introduction by Carl Sandburg; G.F.R. Henderson's *Stonewall Jackson, and the American Civil War*; Burke's *Politics*, edited by Ross J. S. Hoffman and Paul Levack; Samuel Flagg Bemis' *John Quincy Adams, and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy*; and Edward R. Stettinius, Jr.'s *Roosevelt and the Russians: The Yalta Conference*, edited by Walter Johnson.

JEROME V. JACOBSEN PAYS TRIBUTE to the late Father Jean Delanglez, scholar, editor, and historian in the July, 1949 issue of *Mid-America*. Father Delanglez died in Chicago on May 9. To the same issue Harold and Ernestine Briggs contributed an interesting study of "The Early Theatre in the Upper Mississippi Valley." This article recalls many of the companies which toured this region in the early nineteenth century, their specialty acts, and stock plays.

THE DISCOVERY BY ROBERT F. BAUMAN that many of the descendants of the former Indian inhabitants of the Toledo area reside today only about ninety miles from their former home launched him on a study that produced "The Migration of the Ottawa Indians from the Maumee Valley to Walpole Island," the lead article in the summer issue of the *Northwest Ohio Quarterly*. He has summarized with care much material which

rests in private hands as well as material in Canadian and United States archives. This article is but a portion of his complete study which he prepared for his master's thesis.

A REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES of the library of the Virginia Historical Society for 1948 appears in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for July, 1949. Considerable space is given the recent bequest of Alexander Weddell, former president of the society. Mr. Weddell's collection of Virginiana will strengthen the society's holdings in many fields.

J. CECIL ALTER's "National Weather Origins" in the *Bulletin* of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio for July, 1949, contains a section on the importance of unofficial Great Lakes forecasts as early as 1849.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE PROPER PRESERVATION of state records is emphasized in two articles in *The American Archivist* for July, 1949. The first is "The Archival Program of Wisconsin" by Clifford Lord, director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; the second, "The Archival Program of Pennsylvania" by Henry Howard Eddy, at that time with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission.

THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY for June, 1949, contained an article on that state's records, "Preservation of the State Archives" by J. N. Bowman. Mr. Bowman is historian for the Central Records Bureau, office of California's secretary of state.

THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY were used in the preparation of two articles for the June, 1949 *Bulletin* of the Missouri Historical Society. Personal documents of Father Pierre Gibault, taken from the society's files, were used by Louise Callan to prepare her story of Gibault, "Patriot Priest." This article presents new data on Father Gibault, the priest who aided George Rogers Clark in taking the Northwest Territory for the United States during the Revolutionary War. The society's collections were the basis for a second article of interest to collectors of Civil War materials, "Pictorial Envelopes of the Civil War." This article is illustrated with eight black and white plates of pictorial envelopes. The names of two Detroit publishers appear on envelopes in the collection: Richmond and Backus and Cornwell, and Van Cleve and Barnes.

OLD CAHOKIA, edited by John Francis McDermott, was published by the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation in connection with the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Cahokia, Illinois, May 14 to 29.

## Reviews of Books

*Auto Pioneering: A Remarkable Story of Ransom E. Olds.* By Duane Yarnell. (Lansing, Franklin DeKleine Company, 1949. 212 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

Although the automobile industry is a basic one in American economy, no overall scholarly study of it has yet been written. This is regrettable since no other invention of the twentieth century has had, perhaps, as great an influence on the everyday life of the people of this nation. Similarly, the men who put the country on wheels have been neglected. A few biographies have been written but for the most part they are superficial and frothy or laudatory obituaries.

Duane Yarnell's *Auto Pioneering* is a light and interesting biography of Ransom E. Olds, one of the "firsts" of the industry. It is not a scholarly study, and it tells little of importance that is not already known to most people even faintly acquainted with the early history of the "horseless carriage." More than anything it is intended to inspire. In fact, the foreword frankly states: "It is written with the hope that it may serve to encourage those who cherish in their hearts the same desire to succeed that he cherished, and want to use their success in helping to build a better world. . . ."

Mr. Yarnell opens his account, not with the birth and family background of Mr. Olds, which is the common and rather stereotyped device for beginning a biography, but when "R. E." (as he is spoken of throughout the book) was fifteen years old and his father turned over to him the care of the family horse. The new responsibility of caring for "Old Bess," however, reduced the time he could spend on his experiments in his father's small machine shop and impressed him with the inadequacy of horse-drawn transportation. Why could not steam be applied to the family carriage just as it was used to move locomotives or boats? Thus, according to the author, a great idea was born.

The idea remained a dream, however, for the next six years while the young Olds continued his schooling and after graduation became a partner in his father's shop, which manufactured small steam engines. During this time, he experimented with engines for small water craft and with improving the engines produced by Olds and Son. Gradually the plans for a steam-driven automobile evolved and took concrete form. A predawn test proved such a vehicle would run, but the frightful noise not only scared the milkman's horse but also the citizenry of Lansing and earned for the young inventor the reputation for being both crazy and wild.

From here on, the author recounts the story of further experiments; of the shift from steam power to the gasoline internal combustion engine;

the organization of the Oldsmobile Company and the manufacture and sale of the famous Curved Dash Runabout; the skepticism and opposition of the public; his differences of opinion in matters of policy with his financial backers and his withdrawal from the company; the organization of the Reo Company; and finally an evaluation of Mr. Olds as a man. Since the whole biography is compressed into 212 pages it is necessarily sketchy and herein lies one of its chief faults. Certainly a man of "R. E." 's importance deserves a more searching study.

The book is undocumented and has no bibliography. The reader often wonders if statements and quotations are made from authentic records or are based on the memory of Mr. Olds. There are a number of interesting illustrations, but there is no index. Another chief criticism of the book is the implication if not the explicit claim that the modern automobile world evolved directly from the first Oldsmobile, and although mention is made of men like Henry Ford, Roy D. Chapin, John and Horace Dodge, and others, it is always in connection with what they learned from "R. E." but never what he learned or acquired from others. Nevertheless, if one can ignore the Horatio Alger atmosphere which permeates the whole account, *Auto Pioneering* will make pleasant reading for an evening.

Wayne University

JOE L. NORRIS

*Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy 1830-1860.*

By Russel B. Nye. (East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1949. [xiv], 274 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

This book should provoke a great deal of thought in all persons who are interested in the current civil rights controversy in the United States. For in a lucid and simple, almost restrained style, Professor Nye shows what happened a century ago when apologists for American Negro slavery tried to prevent a free and full discussion of the merits of that institution.

By means of a panoramic survey, the author provides ample variety and detail to illustrate the complexity of the intellectual and sometimes physical combat in which the abolitionist and the slavery advocate were locked during the years preceding the Civil War. Yet, with skillfully summarized accounts of crucial episodes, he adds a narrative quality to his portrayal and dramatizes the ideological issues which helped to precipitate the tragic conflict. A tone of calm confidence combined with modesty pervades the volume. The author does not resort to special pleading, the passing of moral judgments, or the drawing of parallels. He does not overemphasize the significance of his findings.

*Fettered Freedom* is an important contribution to an understanding of the national aspects of the slavery problem. Beyond question it establishes the point that the combined attempts of Southern slaveholders and Northern conservatives to infringe upon or to interpret narrowly the civil liberties



of abolitionists swung Northern public opinion to support of the abolitionist contention that if slavery could not be discussed freely the time might come when any subject inimical to the slaveholding interest could be placed under a ban. Thus the suspicion spread among the masses of the Northern people that a great slave power conspiracy, having as its ultimate objective the enslavement of the free men of the North, was being formed.

It is unfortunate that in his introductory chapter Professor Nye fails to recognize the decade of the 1820's as a period of steadily increasing tension between the antislavery and the proslavery forces and that he does not clearly explain the meaning of the immediatist doctrine of the abolitionists. But these shortcomings in a peripheral area by no means reflect upon the essential soundness of the book, a worthy successor to the author's biography of George Bancroft, which in 1945 won a Pulitzer prize.

*Northern College of Education*

RICHARD F. O'DELL

*The First Presbyterian Church of Kalamazoo: A Centennial History.* By a special committee. (Privately printed, 1949. 38 p. Illustrations.)

*History of the First Presbyterian Church, Northville, Michigan, 1929-1948.* By Harold F. Fredsell. (Privately printed, 1948. 48 p. Illustrations.)

These two histories of Michigan Presbyterian churches, one about the First Church at Kalamazoo and the other about the First Church at Northville, run parallel to the story of Michigan's development as a state. The booklets, however, justify the conviction that churches would do well to appoint committees charged with the responsibility of conserving interesting data. Most anniversary booklets of this type fail to hold reader interest save for those who belong to the organization being treated and this appears to be due to the paucity of material available to those charged with the task of writing them. The subject matter, with occasional refreshing exceptions, is repetitive, overly statistical, and dull.

Both the churches at Kalamazoo and Northville have existed for a century or more, coming into existence during the pioneer period and naturally participating in, and being conditioned by, the incredible economic and population expansion of the country. Indeed, the history of churches in the United States has been influenced more than is commonly realized by the fact of such rapid expansion. European Christianity, on the contrary, in its expression during the last century, is as clearly defined in certain aspects by the lack of such a pioneer situation.

For the most part, therefore, these histories are a recital of an almost continuous program in behalf of adequate building facilities to house an increasing congregation. Christianity in the United States has expanded

a tremendous amount of energy just to house itself. For long periods, churches, perhaps of necessity, devoted much of their energies to this program. The church at Kalamazoo has occupied several buildings and now is established in a beautiful Gothic structure which should endure for many decades. The church at Northville, however, looks forward to additional building efforts.

These histories deepen the impression that Protestantism depends for its successful expression upon the personality of its ministers, particularly in terms of pulpit eloquence and effectiveness. The Roman Catholic church, by contrast, depends far less on the personality of its priests, magnifying as it does the administration of the Sacraments and not the person who administers them. It is clear that the churches at Northville and Kalamazoo are the product of the clergymen who at various times were in charge. Dr. John Wirt Dunning is largely responsible for the growth, facilities, and program of the Kalamazoo church during a pastorate from 1916 to 1938. The Northville church is still influenced by the memory of one of its most dynamic pastors, the Rev. James Dubuar, who served from 1851 to 1868 and from 1872 to 1875.

Some of the ministers were characters. Pastor Hoyt, as he was called, indulged in sensational bouts against the "Demon Rum," in Kalamazoo. On one occasion, moreover, the good pastor accepted a quarter of venison, killed on a Sunday, with the explanation that the deer was not responsible for having been killed on a Sunday. Christianity in those early days was more forthright and rugged, with prohibitions relative to dancing, card playing, and amusements on the Sabbath. The men worked hard all week and spent the first day of the week in religious activities. The women, too, lived sacrificially and the author of the Northville history comments: "All that the fathers endured in those pioneer days, the women also endured and perhaps as was said of the Puritan mothers, they had a harder time, for they had to endure the Puritan fathers also."

One wonders how vitally these churches identified their Gospel with the social situation in which they found themselves. The Civil War years are not mentioned in any of the records of the Kalamazoo church which, during this critical period, mentioned such things as the salaries of the organist and chorister. Modern Christianity appears to be more social conscious and ministers more creatively to the community. Despite the many defects and omissions within Christian expression today it appears to be enlisting the cooperation of far more people. We must remember that as late as 1880 only 19.9% of the population belonged to any church. Today the percentage has risen to 53.3%. Still, churches today could not minister as they do without the real devotion and manifest sacrifice on the part of that small group who, in the formative years, gave so much to bring them into being.

*Lansing*

C. M. MUILENBURG

*Milwaukee: The History of a City.* By Bayrd Still. (Madison, The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948. [xvi], 638 p. Illustrations. \$6.00.)

To say that Professor Still's history of Milwaukee is far superior to the usual run of urban histories given to filiopietism, iconography, or journalistic drumbeating is merely to state what one might expect of a trained historian. With selective emphasis and a broadly informed perspective, he has told the story of the Cream City in such fashion as to convey the essential and reciprocal impact of the lake shore community on its environs, its people, and on its region and the country as a whole. At the same time, he has bolstered his account by particularizing details that supply the distinctive features and atmosphere of Milwaukee's political, economic, social, and cultural development. Though sometimes given to overambitious inclusiveness, the author has in large measure succeeded in his attempt "to delineate the broad span of city building within the limits of a single volume" and "disclose the outlines of the evolving urban entity."

The history of the city is divided into four chronological parts—the founding and growth of the village, 1835-46; the expanding city, 1846-70; the emerging metropolis, 1870-1910; and the mature metropolis, 1910-40. Within each part, the major subjects of political, economic, socio-cultural, and governmental development are extensively treated in separate chapters.

The book opens with an excellent account of the land speculation and promotional activities which were responsible for the earliest growth of the city. Professor Still has made herein a contribution to American historiography by calling attention to the importance of town development in the westward movement.

The story of Milwaukee gains broadness and complexity as the village was rapidly transformed into a full-fledged city between 1846 and 1870, becoming a major commercial mart of the Middle West that supplied the needs and marketed the products of its expanding hinterland by means of the newly developed road, rail, and steamer connections. In this period, the city's wheat and hog economy was the basis of its prosperous growth. Large numbers of immigrant Germans arrived, giving the city its Teutonic tone. A Democratic machine dominated its political life and effected many municipal improvements at great cost, without distinguishing too closely between public and private funds. Most urban services and cultural projects were still, however, in what Professor Still calls the "subscription" stage, when voluntary associations and subscriptions by private individuals were relied on to meet most community needs.

Between 1870 and 1910, the acceleration of the city's industrial growth overshadowed the purely commercial activities and brought into being an industrial proletariat, with its labor organizations and new needs and conflicts. The impact of these problems of industrialization produced a general view of the city as a social entity and an increasingly social philosophy

of municipal government. These in turn resulted in a wholesale expansion of urban services by the municipality. Symptomatic of this stronger municipal conscience was the electoral victory of the Socialists in 1910. The large Germanic population gradually sloughed off its distinctive and unitary character and merged with the rest of the population. New waves of eastern European immigrants arrived to replace it. Cultural and occupational specialization came to characterize the city's social, cultural, and professional functions.

Professor Still takes the history of Milwaukee up to 1940. The metropolis matured in the years between the two world wars, its population increasing at a less rapid rate of growth but overflowing nonetheless into large suburban districts. It became pre-eminently an industrial workshop rather than a commercial mart, subject to the vicissitudes of boom and crisis. With the advent of the depression of the 1930's, the tremendous financial and welfare problems brought in their train the greatest expansion of municipal activities under the aegis of Mayor Hoan's Socialist administrations. The community developed what was probably the broadest sense of social responsibility of any American city of similar size and, withal, with a maximum of comparative efficiency and integrity that brought Milwaukee fame.

This reviewer has only two broad strictures to apply to this admirable and painstaking work—one of method and one of content. There are large sections of the book, particularly those dealing with cultural or social aspects, where Professor Still's criteria of selection seem to have been misapplied. In these sections, the author has listed names, dates, and other details tied to broad and not always apt generalizations. He has perhaps tried to write social and cultural history and suggest the spirit of society by massive allusion. But he has not succeeded. Only a greater selectivity could have prevented the history here from becoming a chronicle. A sharper focus on selected aspects would have made possible a more meaningful assay of the spirit of this particular urban culture. On the subject of religion, for example, data of memberships, buildings, and organizations are a poor substitute for the discussion of the impact of urbanization on religious beliefs and practices.

On the second count, of content, Professor Still has not shown an awareness of some recent research in urban problems. Scholars have evaluated the role of the nineteenth century urban political machines quite differently than economy-minded business men, reformers, and journalists. They have pointed out the machines' large albeit wasteful and corrupt contributions to municipal improvements, their force in the acculturation of the foreign born and in cushioning the shock of industrialization for the laboring classes. Can Professor Still be content to explain the Democratic ascendancy in Milwaukee between 1848 and 1870 entirely in terms of ignorance and corrupt contracts? Moreover, his whole treatment of the Americanization of the foreign born has a ring of surface unreality and

could have benefited from some of the methods of Professor Oscar Handlin in his study of the acculturation of the Irish in Boston. Elsewhere, Professor Still has himself distinguished between those municipal services that resulted from the aggregation of population and those that reflected the impact of industrialization. A sharper application of this distinction in the discussion of urban services of the more recent city would have meant less tedious emphasis on police, firemen, sewers, and water supply and more on those services characteristic of a mature industrial metropolis.

*Milwaukee: The History of a City* could, nevertheless, well stand as a model for those writing the histories of Michigan's cities.

Michigan State College

CHARLES HIRSCHFELD

*Horns of Thunder: The Life and Times of James M. Goodhue Including Selections from His Writings.* By Mary W. Berthel. (St. Paul, Minnesota Historical Society, 1948. [xii], 276 p. Illustrations. \$3.00.)

How would a new Canaan become known to the world if there were no voice raised in the wilderness? Every frontier in America has had its oracle—its pioneer newspaperman. Singer of Minnesota's praises, recorder of her progress, custodian of her political and social morals—these were the roles played by James Madison Goodhue in the budding frontier commonwealth of Minnesota. His hymns of praise of Minnesota land, climate, crops, and people; his vigorous championship of the "right" people, parties, and principles; his fiery and violent denunciation of all who opposed him—all this is revealed in *Horns of Thunder*.

Goodhue, native of New Hampshire, early felt the pull of the West. In the 1830's he spent some time in the Illinois country, and in 1841 he set himself up as an attorney in the lead mining region of southwestern Wisconsin at Platteville. There was more appeal for him in the field of newspaper publishing, however, and his name frequently appeared in the newspapers of the area as a contributor and author. In July, 1844, he became the editor of a weekly newspaper, the *Grant County Herald*, published at Lancaster, Wisconsin, and he remained a newspaperman the remainder of his relatively short life.

About the time Wisconsin became a state, Goodhue's attention became focused on the raw wilderness to the west. He saw it as a region of fabulous opportunity, and when it became evident that a new territory would be created from the land about the headwaters of the Mississippi River, he decided to cast his lot there. When the first steamboat made its way up the river in the spring of 1849, Goodhue was aboard with a printing press and all the other paraphernalia he needed to publish a newspaper. On April 28, 1849, he published the first issue of the *Minnesota Pioneer* at St. Paul—the first newspaper in Minnesota. He died a short three years and four months later, but in that time he threw himself heart and soul into the

Minnesota destiny. It was *his* Minnesota in a way no other person could have made the territory his own.

*Horns of Thunder* is more than a provincial chronicle. Its scope extends far beyond the mere confines of a frontier town. It is a chronicle of a whole segment of the American West at the mid-point of the century. The book is a careful study of the observations of a sage but enthusiastic member of a frontier community by a competent and careful historian. Mrs. Berthel knows and loves her Minnesota, and she imparts her respect to her readers. The generous quotations from the writings of Goodhue have been interspersed with her editorial and narrative explanations and woven skillfully into an interesting and informative story. To add to its general interest and authenticity, the volume is illustrated by a series of charming pen-and-ink sketches made by a pioneer Minnesota druggist, R. O. Sweeny, during the early 1850's. Altogether, this is a book to appeal to those who love the frontier period in American history.

*United States Air Force*

ARTHUR J. LARSEN



## Contributors

Mr. Harold C. Brooks was born in Calhoun County. He is an avid student of the history of early Michigan and especially of the town of Marshall and the surrounding area. Mr. Brooks is president of the Brooks Appliance Company, Marshall; a fellow of the Royal Philatelic Society, London; and a member of various American philatelic organizations.

Mr. Robert P. Lane states that the truly formative experience of his life (apart from his family background) was his experience as secretary to Chase S. Osborn. Following his first association with former Governor Osborn Mr. Lane worked for the Michigan Historical Commission in the summer of 1913, the year it was getting started. Since then Mr. Lane has had ten years of teaching experience in four colleges and universities, six years in business with the Curtis Publishing Company, six years in Washington and Europe with the American Red Cross, twelve years as executive director of the Welfare Council of New York City, and three years as an independent consultant in health and welfare work; all interspersed with occasional odd jobs for government bureaus in Washington and miscellaneous lecturing.

Dr. Wilbur R. Jacobs is an instructor in the Department of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara College. Dr. Jacobs' major field is colonial American history. His doctoral dissertation, "Diplomacy and Indian Gifts; Anglo-French Rivalry on the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748-1763," is being published by the Stanford University Press. His article, appearing in this issue, is based upon chapter nine of the book.

Mr. Richard G. Telfer was born in Ann Arbor and has lived within walking distance of most of the spots which he mentions in his article. He is a graduate of Michigan State Normal College. Here he became interested in all types of history but especially in the history of Michigan. Mr. Telfer is at present a member of the faculty of the Holly Public Schools.

Mr. Newell E. Collins is an amateur archaeologist. He is a member of the Aboriginal Research Club and edits the organization's bulletin, *The Totem Pole*. The stories contributed by Mr. Collins to the Michigan Folklore section indicate that he digs for more than "remains" in his researches.

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#### *Errata*

- page 129, line 5, for *Brownson* read *Bronson*
- page 210, line 13, for *Squoia* read *Sequoia*
- page 212, line 38, for *Rainy Lakes* read *Rainy Lake*
- page 268, line 6, for *Mentor B. Williams* read *Mentor L. Williams*
- page 326, line 8, for 1872 read 1877

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